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Sydney Howard Gay,
Maria Weston Chapman, } Editors.
Edmund Quincy,

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Pro-Slavery.

From the Missouri Republican of December 5.

AN ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

The Niles (Mich.) Republican, and the Laporte (Ia.) Tocsin, contain accounts of the proceedings in that vicinity to rescue a fugitive slave from the custody of Mr. Samuel S. Gunn, of this city. The editors of those papers—especially the editor of the Niles Republican—seem anxious, not only to screen the abolition negro-stealers from indignation, but to create as much excitement as possible against Mr. Gunn, for his course in the matter.

The facts in this case are briefly as follows:

From the representations made here last September by a negro who pretended to reside near Jackson, Michigan, it was supposed that several slaves belonging to citizens of this county, were near Jackson, and anxious to return to their masters. Mr. Gunn, who was about to visit Niles on business, was induced to go to Jackson, and make arrangements for bringing them back. Although he did not find the slaves at Jackson, as represented, yet when at St. Josephs, on his way home, he saw on the steamer Algona, *Sam Bolles*, a slave belonging to Mr. Samuel Black, of this city. The negro endeavored to conceal himself, and at first denied having been in St. Louis. Finally, he conversed freely on the subject, and acknowledged that he was the slave of Mr. Black. Mr. Gunn had him arrested at Berrien, on the arrival of the steamer there, and started with him for St. Louis, *via*. Laporte, Indiana. The Abolitionists of Berrien and Niles employed men to start in pursuit of Mr. G. on the road near Laporte, and ordered him to stop. The parties finally proceeded together to Laporte; Mr. Gunn, for the purpose of having the matter judicially investigated, and the Abolitionists to procure the assistance of their confederates. Through the agency of Judge Henry, Justice Bailey, and others, Mr. Gunn was arrested illegally, harassed with several writs, and the slave finally liberated by the Abolitionists. The editor of the Niles Republican, and a lawyer at Niles, named Bacon, with their confederates, as we learn, instigated the proceedings against Mr. Gunn, and charged him with kidnapping *Bolles*. Judge Henry, residing near Laporte, also took a prominent part in this negro-stealing business. This Judge H. is celebrated in that region for his connection with the case of the State *versus* Egbert, arrested for murder. From the details of this case, as we have learned them, it is evident that there is a number of Abolitionists in that part of Michigan and Indiana, ready to lend all the assistance in their power to trample upon the guarantees of the Federal Constitution. Whether the parties concerned in the rescue of *Bolles*, and the arrest of Mr. Gunn, can be reached by process of law, we know not; but the public good requires that they should be exposed. It will be for the criminal courts, in their respective neighborhoods to decide what punishment, if any, they shall receive. The most prominent Abolitionists in this outrage were Mr. Bacon, a lawyer at Niles, in Michigan, the editor of the Niles Republican, Orr and Reese, the abolition scouts—Ferson, of Michigan; and Judge Henry, Mr. Jernegan, Mr. Orton, and others at Laporte. Several of the citizens of Laporte and Berrien, however, acted as become men, anxious to uphold the Constitution and laws against the movements of a band of fanatics.

The editor of the Niles Republican indulges in many harsh epithets against Mr. Gunn, but if that abolition incendiary meets with his deserts, he will find *snug* quarters at the public expense, instead of denouncing, through his journal, worthy citizens of Missouri, for prosecuting their rights. The editor of the Laporte Tocsin admits that *Bolles* confessed to several citizens of that place that he was a runaway slave, and belonged to Mr. Black, of St. Louis. There is, then, no excuse for the outrages perpetrated at Laporte, and the utter disregard of the Constitution and laws. If the guarantees contained in the Federal Constitution, and the laws of Congress, can be trampled on with impunity by the Abolitionists of other States, the slaveholding States will be left without adequate protection for their property, and their citizens be exposed to similar annoyances to those to which Mr. Gunn was subjected whilst discharging his duty. Some remedy for these evils should be devised promptly, or the consequence may be disastreus to the communication between the States.

From the New Bedford Mercury.

MR. GIDDINGS'S ATTACK ON MR. WINTHROP AND THE WHIGS OF BOSTON.

The cool assurance of the Abolitionists who refused to unite with the Whigs at the last Presidential election in their earnest and honest struggle to prevent the annexation of Texas, has been nowhere more strikingly illustrated than in the recent speech of Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, in the Oregon debate in Congress. The ground taken by him is that the Annexation of Texas was a subversion of the Constitution by which the free States have been brought into vassalage to the slave power of the country—that he prefers war with all its evils to a submission to this power—that a war with England will be "a war of Emancipation"—that a servile insurrection, as one of its consequences, will compel the citizens of the free States to march South in defence of the country, where they will learn the extent of their responsibility in reference to Slavery—and that, therefore, believing the proposed notice to Great Britain will inevitably precipitate us into a war with that nation, he is in favor of giving that notice forthwith, and declares his intention to vote for it.

In justification of this extraordinary course he takes occasion to make a most undeserved and unjust attack upon the merchants of Boston and their distinguished Representative, Mr. Winthrop, whose admirable speech in the same debate, the best beyond comparison that the discussion has produced, has given to that able and accomplished statesman a new and higher claim to the respect and favor of the people of Massachusetts.

The following is the paragraph in Mr. Giddings's speech to which we refer:

"Here let me say to the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Winthrop,) who the other day made so eloquent an appeal in favor of peace, and who represents the commercial interests of that State, that I fully appreciate his motives and feelings. But, Sir, this situation is one of his own choice. He was among the first distinguished men of that State who gave in his adherence to the change of Government, and the leading commercial men of Boston were the first in that State to declare their submission to this new slaveholding confederation with Texas. This was done with a full knowledge of the policy which had been adopted of extending our territory. That State had declared her people under no obligation to unite with Texas in consequence of any action of Congress. I then held, and still hold the action of this Government imposed no obligation upon my State, either political or moral, to enter into this new confederacy. No, Sir, if she comes into it, as she will, it will be the choice of our people, and not from any obligation resting upon her by reason of the joint resolutions of Congress. And, if my colleagues coincided with me in opinion, no Representative from Ohio would retain a seat in this Hall beside those of Texas, upon such terms as have been imposed upon us. But the gentleman from Massachusetts voluntarily preferred to have his State become a party to this new union."

Now it is perfectly well known to the country, and we think the author of this unjust aspersion cannot have been ignorant of the fact, that no public man in the country has been more decided and consistent in his opposition to this whole Texas project from its commencement to its consummation than Mr. Winthrop. At this very session he voted with Mr. Adams and Mr. Giddings himself, against the resolutions by which Texas became a State of this Union. Like his brethren of the Whig party generally upon this great question, he has shown his faith by his works. With them, at the last presidential election, he labored to defeat the measure by the only practicable mode in which it has ever been possible to defeat it since its inception—namely, the election of Henry Clay, who was pledged against it without the concurrence of the free States, and the defeat of Mr. Polk, who was pledged for it at all events and at all hazards. And by whose instrumentality was it accomplished? It has now become a matter of history, a recorded judgment which no after repentance or events can revoke or alter, that the Abolitionists who refused to aid in the defeat of Mr. Polk, by the election of Mr. Clay, the only candidate who could succeed against him, are responsible for all the consequences that attach to this great outrage upon the cause of freedom and the integrity of the Constitution. Mr. Winthrop, in common with the Whigs of the free States, having done all that could be done to avert it, and having been defeated through such agencies as these, had but one alternative,—to submit to the will of the majority or go for a dissolution of the Union. This is the alternative which Mr. Giddings has himself presented. But as he needs *the help of his colleagues* to enable him to carry out his convictions of duty, and as they probably will not vacate their seats when the Representatives from Texas enter the Halls of Congress, Mr. Giddings will doubtless content himself with having so bravely expressed the philanthropy of abolitionism, and continue to receive his per diem as a Representative in the Congress of "*the Union as it is.*"

In charging the responsibility of the annexation of foreign territory upon others, whose efforts would have defeated it if they had been seconded by those for whose courage and constancy so large a claim is now made by Mr. Giddings, he says although he now goes for the same policy that he is not responsible for it—"*he washes his hands from all participation in it.*" This self-complacent mode of divesting one's self of responsibility and casting it upon others is not without a precedent in those who administer the laws, as well as those who make them. Mr. Giddings, and those who think and act with him, may find one in the history of an ancient magistrate whose example is hardly worthy the imitation of a *Christian* lawgiver. For their benefit, and as a type of all the reasonings and pharisaical pretensions of the Abolitionists upon the subject of this article, we quote it as a fitting conclusion, from a book having authority:

"When Pilate saw *that he could prevail nothing*, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water *and washed his hands* before the multitude, saying, *I* am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it."

From the New-York Sun.

"DOUGH-FACES."

A correspondent inquires the meaning of this slang phrase, which he says he has seen in some paper. It is a term properly applied to citizens of so-called *free States*, who are violent advocates for the abolition of Slavery; those who preach abolition where there is no Slavery to abolish, instead of going into so-called slave States, and advocating the abolition there, where Slavery actually exists. For instance, Cassius M Clay is *not* a "dough-face," because he advocates the abolition of Slavery in a slave State—Kentucky, in which he resides. But the editors of the Boston Emancipator, and the New-York Anti-Slavery Standard, and others, *are* "dough-faces," because they advocate the abolition of Slavery in *New-York* and *Massachusetts*, where there is no slavery to abolish, while, at the same time, by exciting the prejudices of the North against the South, they do all in their power to prevent their opinions from receiving attention or consideration in the South. For example, the Boston Emancipator of the 14th instant, has an able leading article, headed,—"We must abolitionize the people," in which the editor adopts the plan of Washington and Jefferson, of "Going directly to the people themselves, individually, and prevailing upon them one by one, to make the abolition of Slavery their own first work until it is done. This is the only way. All other expedients have failed, and it must be done in this way, man to man, and man by man—or it will not be done at all."

But turning to another column of this same Emancipator, we find the editor engaged in the most unChristian work of denouncing the South, and undoing, by his want of charity or worse disposition, all that his leader proposes to do. Speaking of a revival of religion in the State of Mississippi, and of the clergymen there, he says:—

"Does any man suppose that these revivals of religion have weakened Slavery in Mississippi? Not in the least. Messrs. Chase, Winans, and others, the pastors there, are slaveholders themselves, and indoctrinate their converts, while their piety is in the gristle, in the duty of continuing to hold their slaves. The more such revivals prevail, and the more such preachers are multiplied, the stronger is the dominion of Slavery over the minds of the people."

And this *denial of the salutary influences of Christianity* is considered religion and charity by the so-called "pious" subscribers to the Boston Emancipator! If there is religion or charity in it, it is that kind of religion or charity that, an age ago, burnt poor nervous old ladies at the stake under pretence that they were witches, and hanged members of the peaceable Society of Friends because they cherished the teachings of George Fox. What, we ask, would be the effect upon public opinion here, in the State of New-York, of violent denunciation of the great body of the people because they do not recognize the principle of an equal division of property every year among the adult male population? Would it not make us stick closer to existing principles? Would it not make us guard our property, great or small, from the seizure of the equal distributors? Surely it would. And yet, to us, this idea implies no greater change than abolition does, in most instances, to the people of the South. Is it fair, therefore, to denounce them? Is it right? is it Christian? is it a *judicious policy?* Why, all the principles of our nature revolt against such a course of policy. It is impossible that any man, acquainted with human nature, should pursue the course that the Abolitionists have pursued, unless he desired to perpetuate Slavery, and fasten it permanently upon the country.

Washington and Jefferson spoke boldly of emancipation in their day, and as early as 1818 the national ecclesiastical councils, conventions, and assemblies, commenced adopting resolutions declaratory of the duty of the Christian churches towards the slaves, suggesting the propriety of educating them and preparing them for emancipation; and the great work of emancipation steadily progressed in all the States until the commencement of the present abolition agitation, in 1832. *Not a single State has abolished Slavery since.* And now we are to have political *Abolition!* Organizations are getting up here and in Albany to make abolition a *party question.* In other words, Slavery is to be fastened upon us, as a *political hobby*, to be ridden and perpetuated for years to come! We regret it. We regret the course of politicians and so-called Abolitionists on this question, because we believe it to be the *pro-slavery* course. But we submit the whole matter to our fellow-citizens, and with their verdict we shall rest satisfied. The people may err for a brief period, but, like a life-boat in a storm, they right themselves at once. We are willing to abide by their decisions, present and prospective, and we now say to all leading Abolitionists, and all leading political Abolitionists, *wo be to you when your followers find you out!* Better for you that a millstone had been hanged about your necks and you drowned in the depths of the sea. We reiterate the opinion heretofore expressed, that the abolition of Slavery in the so-called slave States will begin only when the Abolitionists of the so-called free States cease their irrational agitation.

Selections.

THE RIGHTS OF THE FREE STATES SUBVERTED.

Or, an enumeration of some of the most prominent instances in which the Federal Constitution has been violated by our National Government, for the benefit of Slavery. By a member of Congress.

(CONTINUED.)

Thus was the Constitution violated, and the people of the free States involved in one of the grossest frauds ever practised upon an offending tribe of helpless Indians, for the purpose of protecting the slaveholding interests of Georgia. It should also be borne in mind that these things were transacted at a period when all Southern statesmen very correctly denied that "*Congress or the Federal Government possessed any powers whatever in relation to Slavery.*" During a period of more than thirty years was the influence of the Federal Government exerted for the purpose of obtaining these fugitive slaves, or in extorting from the Indians a compensation for their owners. The Senate were called upon to approve those treaties, Congress was called on to pass laws, and to appropriate money to carry those treaties into effect, and the people of the free States to pay the money and bear the disgrace, in order that Slavery may be sustained. But the consequences of these efforts still continue, and the Government has to this day been unable to extricate itself from the difficulties into which these exertions in behalf of Slavery precipitated it. And the people of the free States are to this day taxed and dishonored, in consequence of these violations of their constitutional rights. These facts will be more fully illustrated when we examine our subsequent relations with the Seminoles and Creeks. But we will now look to our separate treaties with the Seminole Indians.

The first treaty between the United States and these Indians bears date at "Camp Moultrie," September 18, 1823. By this treaty the United States agreed to pay them $6.000, and an annuity of five thousand for twenty years; besides one thousand dollars yearly for twenty years, to be expended in the support of a school, and the like sum for the same period to be expended in the support of a gun and blacksmith.

By the 7th article of said treaty, the Indians obligated themselves "*to be vigilant and active in preventing the retreating to or passing through the district of country assigned them, of any absconding slaves or fugitives from justice.*" They further stipulated "to use all necessary exertions to apprehend and deliver such fugitive slaves to the agent of the United States."* Thus was the money of the nation again appropriated directly for the purpose of catching Southern slaves and returning them to their masters, while the people of the North were constantly told that the Federal Government possessed "*no constitutional power in relation to Slavery.*"

Before we proceed further, it will be well to caution the reader to bear in mind the historical fact, that, prior to the making of this treaty with the Seminole Indians in 1823, they had been regarded as a portion of the Creek tribe, from whom they separated, and were therefore called "Seminoles," or "*runaways.*" It has already been stated that a large portion of these slaves, who had left Georgia prior to 1802, had united with these bands of Seminoles, had intermarried, and become incorporated with them. They had been paid for by the Creeks at the rate of five or six times their real value, and the Creeks having paid their money for them, sent their agents among the Seminoles to demand them as slaves not doubting that they had derived a good title to them and their offspring, from the Government of the United States.† But the Seminoles, unwilling to surrender their wives and children to the Creeks, and being vexed and harassed with these and other demands made upon them for slaves, were induced to enter into the treaty of "Payne's Landing," in May, 1832, by which they stipulated to remove West, and re-unite with the Creeks. The 7th article of that treaty is in the following words:

"The Seminoles, being anxious to be relieved from repeated vexatious demands for slaves, (and other property alleged to have been stolen or destroyed by them,) so that they may remove unembarrassed to their new homes, the United States stipulate to have the same properly investigated, and to liquidate such as may be satisfactorily established, provided the amount does not exceed seven thousand dollars."

Here, again, the money collected in the free States was paid over directly to the slaveholders of Georgia, and Alabama, and Florida, as a compensation for their fugitive slaves. And so little objection was made to it that few of the people of the North were informed of the fact. The Creeks, however, were not satisfied with this arrangement, but continued to press the Seminoles to surrender their wives and children, as the property of the Creeks.

It will be recollected that the Seminoles had agreed in the treaty to remove west, and to re-unite with the Creeks. But to emigrate under such circumstances would be to place themselves in the power of the Creeks, who would thus gain possession of those whom they claimed as slaves, but who were in truth wives and children of the Seminoles. They therefore preferred to remain and fight the whites, rather than go to the West, and permit their wives and children to become slaves. They were, however, overpowered, and compelled to emigrate. But when carried west of Arkansas they dared not go into the Creek country, but settled down upon the territory belonging to the Cherokees. Here they remained. The Cherokees protested against this act of the Seminoles. The Creeks were anxious to have the Seminoles remove within their jurisdiction, in order to get their slaves, which they had purchased so dearly of the Federal Government, while the Seminoles dared not place themselves in the power of the Creeks; and during several years this triangular contention kept those tribes in a state of turmoil, and almost constantly threatened them, and the United States with war. This state of things was wholly brought about by the efforts of our Government to obtain pay for the fugitive slaves of Georgia. The Executive was not an idle spectator of these facts. Efforts were constantly made to arrange the difficulty, but without success, until December last, when it is said that a treaty was effected between the United States on one part, the Cherokees of another part, the Creeks of another part, and the Seminoles of the fourth part. We are entirely indebted to reports communicated through the public press, and received from officers of Government, in respect to this treaty and its terms. It has not been officially made known to the people. But so far as we are able to learn, the treaty provides: 1. That the Seminoles shall leave the Cherokee lands, and shall settle upon the tract assigned to the Creeks. 2. Their wives and children and husbands shall remain free. 3. The Seminoles shall pay to the Creeks, for their wives, husbands, and children, such sums as shall be awarded by the President of the United States. Thus we shall exhibit to the civilized world the singular fact of the Executive of the only *free* nation upon earth, gravely estimating the value of men, of women, and of children, sold and transferred by our Government to a savage and barbarous people. Yet is the question often asked by Northern men, "*What have we do with slavery?*" I answer, we are compelled to pay our money, involve ourselves in crime, degrade our character, and see our constitutional rights subverted, in order that Slavery may be sustained. The first and last treaty with those southern Indians were negotiated for the benefit of Slavery; indeed, most of our treaties with them since 1789 have contained some provision for the benefit of the slaveholding interest.

Treaty with England.

During the late war with great Britian many slaves escaped from their masters in the southern States, and sought protection under the British flag. In the first article of the treaty of Ghent a stipulation was inserted for the restoration of slaves, understood by the Commissioners who negotiated the treaty on the part of Great Britain to refer to those slaves who had been captured in certain forts; but by our Government understood to refer to all those slaves who had escaped from their masters during the war, and who had sought British protection. The construction given to the treaty by our Executive was urged upon the British ministry with such persevering energy that a compromise was effected, by which they agreed to pay to the Government of the United States *one million two hundred and four thousand dollars*, for the benefit of those Southern planters who had lost their slaves.* Thus the Executive assumed to act as the protector of Slavery, and the influence of the Government was prostituted to the support of that institution. The money was received; and Congress has often sat in grave deliberation as to the manner of distributing this money among those who claimed to own the flesh and blood, the bones and sinews, of their fellow-men.

Treaty with Spain.

By the last clause of the 9th article of our treaty with Spain, entered into in February, 1819, our Government became obligated to "cause satisfaction to be made for the injuries, if any, which by process of law should be established to have been suffered by the Spanish officers and the individual Spanish inhabitants by the late operations of the American army in Florida."† In March, 1823, a law was passed for the purpose of carrying this clause of the treaty into effect ‡ and another was passed in January, 1834,§ extending the benefits of this treaty to such persons as suffered by the invasion of our troops in 1812 and '13. In 1838, Felix Grundy, Attorney General of the United States, gave a written opinion to the Secretary of the Treasury, that slaves were *property*, and ought to be paid for under that treaty and the laws to carry it into effect.‖ Upon the strength of this opinion of a slaveholding Attorney General, Secretary Woodbury allowed compensation for some ninety slaves, and some forty thousand dollars, mostly drawn from the people of the free States, were paid to slaveholders of Florida; and it is worthy of remark, that nearly if not all these claims had been rejected by former Secretaries and by Congress. (Vide record in office of the Register of the Treasury.)

Moneys paid from the Treasury without authority of law.

The attention of the reader will be hereafter called to the fact, that certain moneys received from the British Government as a compensation to the owners of slaves who regained their liberty from on board the slave ships "Comet and Encomium," were left in the treasury when Mr. Van Buren and his cabinet retired from office. The fact that such money remained in the treasury, and a call upon the owners of the slaves to claim it, was published in the newspapers of Washington, and of the Southern States. *The expense of these advertisements were charged over to the Government;* but the money of the slaveholders was retained as a sacred treasure, and the full amount paid over to those who established their claims to the slaves.¶

When the Seminole Indians emigrated west of the Mississippi, many negroes emigrated with them, as a part of the tribe. After they were gone, slaveholders of Georgia and of Florida, professing to own those negroes, called on the Treasury Department to pay for them, and they received full compensation from the national treasury.** These payments were made by the Treasury Department after the claims had been rejected by Congress, and against the entire practice of the Government up to that period.

Interference of the Executive with other governments to prevent the extension of human rights.

When the Spanish Colonies on this continent became independent of the parent Government they emancipated their slaves. Fears were entertained by our Government that they would extend their aid to Cuba, in which case emancipation would take place in that Island. The effect of extending liberty to the slaves of Cuba was foreseen and dreaded. Our representatives to the Congress of Panama were, therefore, instructed to state to those represented in that body, explicitly, that the United States would not permit a war of emancipation to be waged in Cuba, lest the example might be attended with serious consequences to the slaves of this Union.†† To prevent the extension of civil liberty to the slave population of Cuba, great efforts were put forth by our Government to induce the King of Spain to acknowledge the independence of his revolted colonies; and the Emperor of Russia was solicited to use his influence with the Spanish Government to effect that object.‡‡

(*To be continued.*)

* Vide treaty of Payne's Landing, 9 vol. U. S. Laws, 1240. Laws of the U. S. vol. 8, 693. † Laws of the U. S. vol. 1, 622. ‡ Laws of the U. S vol. 7, 166 § Laws of U. S vol. 9, 59. ‖ Ex. No. 123, 24 Session, 26th Congress. ¶ Expenditure of the State Department, 1840. ** Expenditures of the Indian bureau, 1843. †† Letter of Instructions, May 8, 1826. ‡‡ Instructions to Mr. Middleton, May 10, 1825

* Vide treaty, 7 vol U. S. Laws, 708. † Vide report of Wiley Thompson, agent of the United States for the Seminole Indians F. Doc, 125, 3d session 25th Congress.

From the Boston Daily Mail.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF WOMEN.

Among the petitions presented to Congress by Mr. ADAMS, are a good many signed by women, against the admission of Texas, Slavery in the District of Columbia, &c; and a New-York cotemporary remarks that these women ought to be "shaking bed-*ticks* rather than poli-*ticks*." To say nothing of the exquisite gallantry of this remark, it applies with more force, in our humble opinion, to those "old women in pants," who have for the last few years made politics a *trade*, and brought the national "bed-tick" into such a condition that there is some doubt whether it will bear shaking much longer. We are not sure that, if the women could have had the entire control of our national and fiscal affairs for the last twenty years, (which includes the whole space in which the present political parties have been battling with each other, and leaving the country to take care of itself,) those affairs would not have been in quite so bad a pickle as they are at present. We never had any particular faith in "petticoat government;" but upon a review of the past and present, we have a deuced good mind to come out for a female President in 1848. Why may not this blessed Republic be governed for a while by bright eyes and taper fingers, as well as Great Britain, or Spain, or Portugal?

Badinage aside—the women of this country have as great an interest in its welfare as the other sex; and if our "Salic laws" exclude them from the "succession," and from all participation in the national councils, they ought not for that reason to be excluded from exerting a moral influence upon the Government. Our grandmothers of the Revolution did not confine themselves to "shaking bed-ticks," but entered heart and soul into the strife; and with a strong moral power, well directed, it is not too much to say that they "saved the State." Had it not been for them, we might even now be paying tribute to Victoria for every pound of tea, and every rag of paper money within our borders. When those good grandmothers (they were wives and sisters then) assisted in shaking the red-coats, there were no squeamish editors or scribblers, penny or sixpenny, to cry out against it. When a brave matron took down her husband's rifle, and with eagle aim sent a bullet through the head of some straggling Hessian or Indian marauder, it was accounted to her for patriotism—for "Roman firmness," or "commendable chivalry;" but when the women of the present day, with motives equally pure and patriotic, raise their voices against evils which are preying upon the nation's vitals, why then, forsooth, they are out of their element, and talking about what is none of their business! Such is the practical philosophy of some who wear the semblance of men, but who, in case of danger, would be glad to sneak behind "petticoat government," or anything else that would give them conscious security.

From the London Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FINAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN CEYLON.

We have great pleasure in laying before the public the following correspondence:

To G. W. Hope, Esq. &c. &c.

SIR:—During a recent visit to France, in which I was brought into contact with some of the influential members of the French Anti-Slavery Society, and with many devoted friends of that cause, I was enabled to give them satisfactory information in relation to the abolition of Slavery in all parts of the British empire, with the exception of Ceylon, the peculiarities of which case I fully explained.

Without entering into details with which you, Sir, must be perfectly familiar, I would merely call your attention to the fact, that, owing to the non-registration of the slaves in that colony, under the local ordinance passed in 1843, the liberty of the great bulk of them had been secured, with the entire approbation of her Majesty's Government.—There yet remained, however, a small number (379) in the Kandian provinces, whose legal right to liberty yet remained to be secured. In Lord Stanley's despatch to the Governor of Ceylon, dated 5th June, 1843, they are thus referred to:—"I am still without a detailed report, which I should wish to receive, as to the state of Slavery in the Kandian provinces. But the information of which we are in possession, leads me to hope that the remains of slavery are merely nominal, that they may speedily and safely be brought to a termination, and to feel very confident that, in the intrinsic value of the slave, there can be no valid ground for any expectation of compensation." Presuming that this information has been received, and trusting that measures have been taken to secure the Kandian slaves their liberty, I have respectfully, on behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to request that you will favor them with information on this point. It will be in the highest degree satisfactory for them to learn that at this moment, in no portion of the British empire can a single human being be legally held as a slave, and to communicate the gratifying fact to the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause on the continent of Europe, and in the United States.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
JNO. SCOBLE, Secretary.

NEW BROAD-STREET, 13th Nov. 1845.

Reply.

DOWNING-STREET, 13th Nov. 1845.

SIR:—I am directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter on the subject of Slavery in Ceylon.

His Lordship desires me to inform you, in reply, that an ordinance was enacted by the Legislative Council of Ceylon, in the month of December last, to provide for the total abolition of Slavery in Ceylon, and that the ordinance has been confirmed and allowed by the Queen.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
(Signed) JAS. STEPHEN.

JNO. SCOBLE, ESQ.

From the Spirit of Liberty, Pittsburgh.

MR. AND MRS. FOSTER.

These powerful champions of human rights closed their labors here on Monday evening last, and left on Tuesday morning for New Brighton. We regret that our engagements prevented us from attending all their lectures, but are satisfied that the Anti-Slavery portion of them will produce a greatly favorable effect. From their views of the Constitution we dissent, and their arguments against voting had not even the attraction of *novelty* to us; they demand *disunion* as the remedy for Slavery; we believe that it would not cure the disease, and might remove all hope from the sufferers; their tone and manner, if not their language, in speaking of and to the erring, who cannot see the path of duty in Church and State as they do, seems to us unnecessarily harsh and uncharitable; they seem to speak more in bitterness than in sorrow; more with reproach than persuasion; but perhaps we construe their feelings but as they *seem*, not as they *are*. Having thus frankly stated our objections, we must say then they speak with power, and with effect—producing very deep impression. Right or wrong, they are sincere, earnest, nobly independent, and fearless. Mrs. F. is a beautiful speaker, with a wonderful power and readiness in debate. She carries you away irresistibly, by her own fervor of thought, and her beautiful conceptions of the majesty of truth. You cannot listen to her without learning, and learning much that is good and useful. She loves truth, and utters it with her whole heart. She gave her whole patrimony to the Anti-Slavery cause—we ask no other evidence of her sincerity. Mr. Foster is a strong-minded, honest, and conscientious man. He rejects all ornament in speaking, but reasons powerfully and logically. He seems to *feel* all he says. From the opportunities we had of conversing with them, we believe the charge of *infidelity* made against them to be utterly false—they seem only opposed to *Churchianity;* not to *Christianity.*

Their meeting on Monday evening was broken up by Joe Barker, and a few of his fellow-rowdies, who went there for that purpose. Our daily contemporaries, solicitous for "the honor of the city," say it was not a "mob," but if we even admit it, we cannot see that it helps the matter much, as regards the *honor* of the thing, whether the majority and the city police approved the conduct of those who disturbed and broke up the meeting, or are only so weak and helpless as to be at the mercy of Joe Barker and his crew, or any other half score of ruffians who choose to make a noise and break up a meeting. If this is the condition to which things have arrived in Pittsburgh and Allegheny, it may as well be understood at once, that no public meeting can hereafter be held in either city, if any half-dozen blackguards dislike the views to be there expressed, and see fit to intrude themselves and make a disturbance. We think that the people of both cities would do well to look to this matter at once, lest a precedent be established which will render it impossible to hold a meeting for *any* purpose.

From the Signal of Liberty.

THE CASE OF KIDNAPPING IN BERRIEN COUNTY.

It was stated in a former communication on the subject of the kidnapping of Samuel Bolles, that he returned to Niles on the 9th November, after his providential escape from his kidnappers at Laporte. On the 11th or 12th November, warrants were issued on the application of Bolles, against John Wittenmyer, Sheriff of the County of Berrien, Jacob Statler, the Justice who issued the warrant, and John Defield, the teamster who accompanied Gunn, the kidnapper. The warrants were predicated on affidavits, sufficiently broad to include a charge of assault and battery, and false imprisonment, as well as the proper charge of kidnapping. The parties were arrested, and brought before E. McIlvaine, Esq. a Justice of the Peace at Niles, where the examination took place.

It was proved that Bolles was taken from the steamboat Algoma, at Berrien, by Wittenmyer, and by him taken directly to the jail; where Statler kept his office. Statler also held the office of Jailer. It was also proved that Gunn, the kidnapper, was in attendance, and stated to the jailer that he wanted a room to *confine Bolles in for the night.* That Bolles was then shut up in a cell, and there kept till about five o'clock the next morning, when Gunn came, with a teamster, put irons on Bolles, and carried him away, as was stated in my last communication.

It was also proved that the day before the arrest of Bolles, Gunn informed the Sheriff that he wished to arrest a *runaway slave.* It was further proved that after Bolles was confined in the jail, Wittenmyer and Gunn went to the house of Defield, where *money was paid to* Wittenmyer by Gunn. The amount was not proved, but *Gunn informed Defield,* that the sum paid was $10, and he complained that the Sheriff had been "*hard with him.*"

At the request of the defendants, each one of them was then allowed to make his own statement of the matter. Each one of them stated in substance what we have before communicated. Although Wittenmyer in his statement refused to tell *how much money* Gunn paid him.

Bolles was present, and sworn as a witness. He stated that he was born free, near Brownsville, in the State of Pennsylvania. He gave a long, full, and minute account of his employment for the last ten years, naming the steamboats on which he had been employed, and the places where he had worked.—Among other things he stated that some years ago, he went a voyage to Liverpool from New-York, on the packet ship Queen of the West. That he also went one trip to the Baltic on the barque ———. That he had been engaged as cook or steward, on board the Maria Hillyard, and C. Walker, on the Lakes.

That he had never been held in slavery, and had not for more than six years last past, resided in St. Louis.

On this testimony the Justice discharged all the defendants, stating, "that he saw no evidence of their criminal intention, in what they had done."

Thus has ended, for the present, this proceeding. Every spectator was astonished at the result—and none apparently more so than the defendants themselves.

It is to be remarked that the pretended warrant issued by Statler, was proved to have been written by R. W. Landon, Treasurer of the county, and that between him and Gunn there had been frequent consultations on the subject.

That this pretended warrant was the merest mockery of a legal warrant, no one can doubt. Nor can any one doubt from the evidence but that the Sheriff, at least, combined with Gunn to arrest Bolles, in this State without right or authority, and that Wittenmyer, for his services, received at least ten dollars.

Had the *subject* of this crime been a *horse* and not a *man*, how would the matter have appeared? Let us see. A person without right or warrant, takes the horse of another, and puts him in a stable, where he is kept till the following morning, when his confederate takes him from the stable, and moves away with all speed for a distant State. On his way he is arrested and brought back to the place of the taking. Would not the law say that *he who took the horse*, as well as *he who receives* the horse were alike guilty of larceny?—that parties confederating to take the horse, although but *one* of the parties actually carried away the horse, still they were both principals? And is not this the very case in question? Gunn and Wittenmyer combined to arrest Bolles unlawfully. They do not question this. Not even Wittenmyer denies it. Wittenmyer confines Bowles in the jail, until Gunn could make preparations for his removal, and as soon as these preparations were made, he conveyed him out of the State, avowedly to take him into a slave State. And yet in all this the Justice sees no evidence "*of a criminal intent!*"

Comment is unnecessary. If this decision is the voice of the law, it is this: any man—whether *black* or *white*, who is guilty of no offence, may be seized and carried away, against his will, and yet the kidnapper be declared guilty of "*no criminal intent!*"

Yours, for Liberty,
J. I. ALEXANDER.

From C. M. Clay's "True American."

LIGHT FROM THE SOUTH.

SPEAK OUT.

The man who realizes what Slavery is, who takes in its whole horrible catalogue of sin—who knows how it crushes every hope of the slave, and by recoil makes life a fire-bed of lust and suffering to the master, and to poor white men—cannot help being eloquent when describing it. The only difficulty is the appalling hugeness of the evil. It stands before one in living blackness, as the monster vice of Earth, and the soul seems to itself when seeking, with all its powers, to define and grasp it, as feeble and unfitted to the task. Yet when any man of ordinary capacity and ordinary feeling, does undertake, in prose or poetry—in public speech or tract—in open debate or private conversation—to hold up to public gaze, the viperous worm which is gnawing into the vitals of the Republic, and leaving its slimy track of poison and of death wherever it wends its way, he is sure to do it with startling effect.

It cannot well be otherwise. The rank-scented evil is ploughed into every fibre of the social fabric, and racks it with pain and anguish at every move, as if all were upon a wild and violent sea. They who sit secure in their own homes when the song of the tempest rings out its wild peal, may not dream of the danger or darkness of the evil, even when their imaginations are most excited in regard to it. But they who are in its midst—who see the storm, and *know* they can find no shelter to avoid it—that come what may, their sails must be set, and that they, and theirs, must sit *and* perish under its fearful blast—how much they feel and speak when they undertake to unthread the dangers and difficulties which beset them, which rankle in their bosoms, and nestle at their hearths, like a very pestilence.

Hence is it that we like always to hear Southern men when they *can* speak out on the subject of Slavery. There is no parly—no truce—no compromise in them. They make bold mouths, and their tongues speak with an unearthly eloquence. They feel the pestilential exactions of Slavery, and that *their* backs have to bear a load which mangles manhood, and bereaves it of vigor, true judgment, the power of doing good, and the power of growth, and they labor as men who would heave it off, and be free. One feels when watching the course of such men—when marking the glow of expression which animates their whole countenance—when listening to the burning breath which is poured out with such deep earnestness, as if they were the noblest of all their compeers! They debase no part of their nature; they counsel not from their fears; they do not tremble when an infuriate rabble grows loud and insolent; they heed no rude social oppression, they never pawn their honor to place or bend it to the seductions of flattery; but moving right on they cry out against injustice with such electrifying effect as to fire the dry stubble around them, and start a blaze which will lighten up all kindred minds, and lead eventually to the assertion and establishment of what is just and true between man and man.

And there are unmistakable signs in the slave States, that the whole question of Slavery will be thrown open. We see it, not merely in the undercurrents, bubbling up here and there with native force, but in the increased boldness of the newspapers. Leading *political* editors call things by their right names. They qualify, it is true, about certain matters; they denounce abolitionism more bitterly, perhaps, than ever; and they do this, because they wish to avoid strong prejudice, and escape being whirred from friend through its hot violence; but with all this, they talk of the clinging curse of Slavery as a known, familiar fact. And citizens of standing—planters of boldness and virtue, who love freedom, and hate tyranny—long for the hour when they may send forth their indignant word against the institution. Says one of this [illegible] writing to us:—

"I cannot and will not keep silence much [illegible] must stir myself, and, if needs be, threaten the [illegible] er, and out-face the bragging brow of Selfishness [illegible] denounce, and expose as I denounce, the [illegible] very, public and private. Who shall bid me be dumb? Who attempt to close my lips with a padlock?

What I are my doors opposed against my passage?
Have I been ever free, and must my h me
Be my relentless enemy, my jail?
The place which I have hasted, does it now
* * * * show me an iron he

variety of form; the truth is, the people there feel as if it was a tug for life, and when they discuss Education—the White Basis—Emigration—Internal Improvements—Economy—Mechanics, and subjects of this character, they know that nothing can be done—that oppression will bear them down, if it does not starve them, and that a ragged misery will hang upon their broken backs, unless the canker cause of their decay is eaten out by the caustic, or cut away with the incision knife, by a prompt and masterly application.

Under these circumstances, will Legislators or the people be long silent? The first dare not—the second cannot be. And we have proof enough of this fact, and of the form in which planter-statesmen will consider and discuss Slavery. We select one instance. Mr. T. Marshall, of Fauquier county, (Va.) in the Legislature at its last session, did not scruple to deal out his anathema. And there were others there who not only cheered him, but joined with him in his open denunciation of Slavery. Hear him:

"Slavery is ruinous to the whites—retards improvement—roots out industrious population—banishes the yeomanry of the country—deprives the spinner, the weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter, of employment and support. This evil admits of no remedy—it is increasing, and will continue to increase, until the whole country will be inundated with one black wave, covering its whole extent, with a few white faces here and there floating on the surface. The master has no capital but what is vested in human flesh—the father, instead of being richer for his sons, is at a loss how to provide for them; there is no diversity of occupations, no incentive to enterprise. *Labor of every species is disreputable because mostly performed by slaves. Our towns are stationary, our villages almost everywhere declining, and the general aspect of the country marks the curse of a wasteful, idle, reckless population, who have no interest in the soil, and care not how much it is impoverished.* Public improvements are neglected, and the entire continent does not present a region for which nature has done so much and art so little. If cultivated by free labor, the soil of Virginia is capable of sustaining a vast population, among whom labor would be honorable, and where "the busy hum of men" would tell that all were happy and all were free."

This is plain talking. It called forth the denunciation of McDuffie. And can we suppose a Legislature that would hear this language with pleasure, or a people who would listen to it with approbation, unripe for emancipation? It is impossible. We may look, then, for definite action on the subject of Slavery in Virginia, and when it comes, the frontier slave States, as sure as there is life in them, will quickly follow the glorious example.

What in this state of facts is the *policy*, as well as the duty of Kentuckians, who agree in the sentiments expressed by Mr. Marshall, of Virginia? It is to express them—to speak them out boldly. None will molest you with violent hands for so doing; the day is past for *that*; it may subject you to a temporary neighborhood gossip, and the exercise of a mean social despotism; but these things will soon pass by, and the day arrive when the very men who resorted to them shall praise your courage and your foresight. Speak out, then; speak boldly.

"Be thou like the first apostles—
Be thou like the heroic Paul!
If a tree thought seeks expression,
Speak it boldly! speak it all!

Face thine enemies—accusers—
Scorn the prison, rack, or rod!
And if thou hast TRUTH to utter,
SPEAK! and leave the rest to GOD."

From the New-York Tribune.

AN APPEAL FOR RIGHTS!

The following Address from the colored citizens of this State, asking that they may be invested with the right of suffrage by the approaching Constitutional Convention, must appeal forcibly to the understanding and the conscience of every genuine Republican. There is no reason—there *can* be none—for excluding a considerable class of our native-born citizens, many of them intelligent and worthy, from voting, in view of the indiscriminate liberality with which the right of suffrage is conferred on all who have white skins. We are in favor of this liberality, though particular instances are frequently occurring in which it may seem to work badly. Let manhood be the broad qualification for voting, and if any portion of our voters prove ignorant and vicious, let the State take efficient measures to enlighten and reform them. The case is really too plain for argument, yet prejudice is so general and inveterate, that we trust every voter will be solicited and induced to read the following

Address to the Voters of the State of New-York, by the People of Color.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—On the first Monday in June, 1846, there will assemble at Albany a Convention of delegates, to be chosen by you, to make alterations and amendments in the Constitution of this State.

We hail with joy and thankfulness the approach of the time which will mark a silent and bloodless, but salutary revolution in regard to laws and ordinances which, ample as they were twenty-five years ago, are now too narrow for the full development of our growing Republic. We hail it with the more pleasure, because we trust that the strife of party will be laid aside, in order that each man, duly reflecting on his relations to the whole people, may calmly arrive at clear views of his duty to the whole people.

Proscribed though we have been, during a short time, from the free exercise of the right of suffrage, we firmly believe that no one will deny us, on the approach of the jubilee of freemen, the exercise of free thought.

Our free thought tells us to solicit from you, fellow-citizens, in an earnest and respectful manner, that you will wipe away from us the blot of proscription, and restore to us that equal exercise of the elective franchise which was awarded to our fathers under the old Constitution of this State, as an acknowledgment of their manhood, in the times when that Constitution was adopted, in the midst of the Revolutionary War.

In making this request, we repose upon the justice of a sovereign people, to whom the exercise of oppression cannot be a pleasant, nor even a tolerable thing. We approach with a full and equal trust, men of all political parties—believing that a sense of justice is not confined within the limits of any party—but dwells in the hearts of the whole people whom we address.

Twenty years ago, in time of peace, through the magnanimous effort of a Democratic Governor—Daniel D. Tompkins—we were finally emancipated from the doom of Slavery. Since that time, and during many years before, we have zealously embraced the common school privileges awarded us by the equal law of this State, and have endeavored to obtain an average share of intelligence. During the twenty-five years that have elapsed since we were restricted to the property qualification, for suffrage, we confidently submit it that we have done no act unworthy the name of a free people.

Although we believe that in this matter they oppressed us, we have patiently abided by the laws of our State, have patiently awaited the result of our constant appeals to the Legislature to undo this oppression, and now that the question is placed in your hands, we appeal to you, the whole people, to grant us the full privileges and rights of citizenship, which we have so faithfully striven to merit.

We crave the extension of the elective franchise as a right. We believe it to be our right, because we have enjoyed it by the laws of the land ever since the first organization of the State of New-York, of which the Constitutions, both new and old, expressly declare, "that no person shall be deprived of the right of suffrage except by the laws of the land, or a jury of his peers. Neither the laws of the land nor a jury of our peers have deprived us of this right, but both have secured it to us by the tenure of uninterrupted possession.

We claim it as a right on still higher ground. It has been argued that the right of suffrage is something other than a right;* it has been called an expedient, a reserved right, and an imperfect right, which the State can withhold at pleasure. These statements have struck us with surprise and grief, less from any special fear of our own tenure of this right, than from a profound alarm at the blow which they aim at the fundamental principle of our Republican liberty.

That fundamental principle is, that ours is a GOVERNMENT of the PEOPLE. There is no STATE apart from the PEOPLE—no PEOPLE apart from, and ruled by, the STATE. The State derives its authority from, and holds it by the will and the voice of the PEOPLE, and has no authority apart from the will of the people. The medium through which the people exercise their will, or express it to those whom they have elected to execute the same, is the ballot-box—that is by the exercise of the right of suffrage.

Thence, the exercise of the suffrage is one and the same thing with the exercise of self-government. To deny, or limit, or tamper with the exercise of the suffrage, is the same thing as to deny, or limit, or tamper with the exercise of self-government.

To call the right of suffrage an expedient, may be accurate, if by "an expedient" is meant the means of self-government, or the mode through which the people govern themselves. But if, by "an expedient," it is meant that the right of suffrage may lawfully be withheld from a portion of the people, then is a foul wrong done to our representative form of Government. For, in the language of the recent message of Gov. Wright, of this State, language written with a view to this very point:

"That legislation which equalizes the benefits and burdens of Government, extends the same encouragement to the enterprise and industry of all in every situation and employment, and attempts to secure no special privileges to any, will diffuse prosperity through a community; because, under such a system of laws, all will feel that the fruits of their industry are justly secured to themselves. On the contrary, attempts to confer favors by law upon classes or localities, produce a competition destructive to profitable industry; a strife, not to earn, but to gain the earnings of others."

Neither can the right of suffrage be called an "imperfect right," nor a "reserved right," for these terms have reference to forms of Government which do "confer favors by law upon classes," and in which the State is something apart from the people. But in our Republican State, where the people exercise the high function of self-government, where the State and the people are one, the right of suffrage is a perfect right, co-extensive with the whole people, who make this right the means through which to express their will. And any limitation of this right to any, however large a majority of the people would of necessity destroy the essential character of our Government, and convert it into something else than a Government of the people.

We do most respectfully submit it to you, fellow-citizens of the State of New-York, that from whatever point you may look at this matter, the public weal, progressive prosperity, the stability of our Government, the principles on which it is founded, and above all, that sense of justice which the Almighty has planted in each human breast—all equally urge upon you the necessity of an extension of the RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE to the basis of manhood unstained by crime, uncursed with insanity. If the force of example be required, we appeal to the States of Maine and Vermont, and Massachusetts, as abundant proofs, for those States have received no detriment from admitting colored citizens to a full and equal participation in the right of suffrage.

It is with deep solicitude, fellow-citizens, that we look to the election, which will occur in April next, for delegates to the State Constitutional Convention. We appeal to men of all parties, who love our institutions and their advancement to vote for such delegates as are favorable to an extension of the right of suffrage equally to all. We appeal to all who rejoice in the progressive character of our Government, we beseech all, on this imminent occasion, to cast their votes in such a manner as shall tend most effectually to secure our restoration to the rights of men and citizens.

We humbly but hopefully present ourselves to the people of the State of New-York, as candidates for the rights of citizenship—we rely upon your sense of righteousness and justice for a full and free exercise of the right of suffrage, trusting that you will be guided in your determination by the spirit of Him who is the Great Head of all States, and the common Father of all mankind.

In behalf of the colored people of the State of New-York, we respectfully submit the above as their regularly organized STATE CENTRAL AND COUNTY COMMITTEES.

Rensselaer County.—Henry H. Garnett, Wm. Rich, James Henderson.
Albany County.—Charles C. Morton, Wm. H. Topp, Richard Thompson, W. C. McIntyre.
Alleghany County.—C.C. Chaffy, Wm. F. Talcott.
Broome County.—Wm. H. Nolan.
Cattaraugus County.—E. S. Coleman.
Dutchess County.—Uriah Boston, J. W. Gray, D. Gordon, Wm. Jennings.
Cayuga County.—C. Allen, Geo. Allen.
Chautauque County.—W. Storum.
Delaware County.—F. Collins.
Chenango County.—H. V. Ryneck.
Columbia County.—E. F. Flood.
Chemung County.—J. Johnson.
Erie County.—Abner Francis, Wm. Brown, S. Davis.
Genesee County.—O. C. Wood, Wm. Johnson.
Greene County.—Martin Cross.
Herkimer County.—Wm. Johnson.
Kings County.—Wm. J. Wilson, G. Hogarth, J. Washington, B. Cogar, L. H. Neilson, Willis Hodges Isaac Reed, Jepter Reed.
Madison County.—John K. Smith, Congdon Williams.
Monroe County.—J. P. Morris, J. Sharpe.
Montgomery County.—Wm. H. Houck.
Niagara County.—James Morgan.
New-York County.—Newport F. Henry, James McCune Smith, Charles B. Ray, Theodore S. Wright, Thomas Van Rensellaer, U. B. Vidal, Jas. N. Glocester, John J. Zuille, Wm. A. Lynn, Patrick H. Reason.
Otsego County.—M. Wayner.
Orleans County.—James Leonard, A. Peck.
Oswego County.—T. Grant, S. Slater.
Ontario County.—J. W. Duffin, A. Stewart.
Oneida County.—F. Lippins, T. Woodson, J. Fountain, W. Appo.
Onondaga County.—P. Foster, J. Jackson, Wm. Bristol, S. Talbot.
Saratoga County.—John Dorsey.
Schenectady County.—F. Thompson, R. P. G. Wright, John Wandell, Francis Davis.
Steuben County.—E. S. Platt.
Suffolk County.—J. C. Spence.
Jefferson County.—J. Terry.
Richmond County.—Isaac Barney, H. Graves, Benjamin Poke.
Queens County.—S. M. Africanus, J. Mingo.
Tompkins County.—Henry Johnson.
Ulster County.—Thos. Harley, Wm. Hasbrouck, Wm. Brown.
Washington County.—J. S. Harrison, W. H. Baltimore.
Wayne County.—John Gambia, H. Swan.
Westchester County.—P. B. Lee, J. Dungee, J. Lee.
Wyoming County.—Samuel R. Ward.
Yates County.—Jacob Platt, Uriah Lett.

*Spencer; Debates of Convention, 1821, p. 103.

Resolved, That we will endeavor, as individuals, to meet every fortnight, beginning on the 1st Thursday in March, with the "Boston Social Circle in aid of the 13th National Anti-Slavery Bazaar;" place hereafter to be designated in the Liberator and Standard.

Resolved, That the April Quarterly Meeting be held at the house of Francis Jackson, and that the Boston Social Circle be invited to meet there.

S. H. SOUTHWICK, Rec. Sec'y.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JAN. 29, 1846.

The Twelfth National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

"Ten days of experience" is a fitting name for this occasion, now that its hours are joined to those beyond the flood. And when we think of all its aspects, temporal for the sake of what is eternal, material for the sake of what is spiritual, pecuniary in order to be philanthropic;—all its satisfactions, fatigues, influences, and consequences; all its trials, such as, rightly improved, would make us patient, forbearing, enduring, energetic, economical yet enterprising;—"all things to all men," if so, as St. Paul has it, "we might by any means save some," yet rigorously uncompromising, that so the Anti-Slavery principles may conform all men to their own likeness; when we call to mind the great variety of characters, qualifications, and conditions of men here thronging together in its service and advocacy, and see the field it affords for all their faculties from genius down to ingenuity, and from talent up to eloquence;—when we take in at a single view the whole of this toiling, tireless, little instrumentality, we are ready to paraphrase the proverb, and say,

"What wants this slave
That a *world* should have?"

And who will ridicule in us this harmless microcosmic notion, seeing it helps to keep our energies up to the "high concert pitch," as requisite to harmony in action as in sound?

The world is like the sea-anemone: any part of it, however small, has the capacity of becoming a complete model of the whole; and truly and well does this little world in Faneuil Hall show forth a larger one, affording a perfect illustration of the whole Anti-Slavery cause, that in its turn typifies the great moral movement of this age, of which it is the vanguard.

Here are gathered together persons who never before saw each other's faces, all drawn by the might of the idea of Freedom into mutual co-operation and helpfulness. What though one be from Maine, and the other from Georgia? What though one be the converted slaveholder, and the other the very Pharisee of Freedom, denying the need of the "second birth" of Anti-Slavery, because he has "*always* been an Abolitionist, and *should* have been, though Garrison had never been born?"—What though one be the irreverent and contemned "Come-outer" from Church and State, the other the Reverend pastor from *Conformington*, (where they abjure reason as a heathen goddess, and worship no other god but Authority,) and the third and fourth the honorable Senators from *Tarry-town* and *Mental Reserve*, where they see it right to sanction and perpetuate a slaveholding Government for this presidential term and the next, or at least until their good company and oath of support shall have abolished the Constitutional guarantees:—till their adherence to the existing state of things shall have revolutionized it? Differing as they do, still these parties find a common centre of attraction, for all do hate Slavery, though the latter do not hate it *enough*, as the shortness of their spiritual sight conclusively proves; and their danger is, that their feeble hatred may, from the temptations of propinquity, cease rather than increase. But the nature of the Anti-Slavery movement is to take all the aid offered. He who holds to his pro-slavery Church, and State, or party, is as good a member of the American Anti-Slavery Society, if it likes him so to consider himself, as he whose conscience forbids such pro-slavery allegiance. He is not, it is true, one of the generally-scorned majority of that small band, and it is equally true that the majority have their own opinion of the consistency of his conduct. But then, to make all even, he has his opinion of the consistency of theirs, which he is by no means backward in expressing;—and while a jot of sincerity, or love of freedom remains to these two parties, they work together; for confidence being involuntary, those who have given all in obedience to conscience, are trusted in the use of the common means, by those whose consciences do not demand so entire a renunciation.

The spot where the Fair is held is the most fitting one—the one with whose past history its object harmonizes best; one associated with every memory of Freedom, since Peter Faneuil, the descendant of French Huguenots, gave it in 1740 to the town of Boston, which had afforded refuge to his family in 1685.—Their crest, a grasshopper, surmounts the cupola to this day.

Hither rushed the people in indignant remonstrance against the arbitrary writs of assistance in 1765. Hither came the town, *en masse*, in solemn legal order—meeting opened with prayer, (on the mere conjecture that British troops were to be ordered into the town,) to urge the calling of a general assembly. And when Sir Francis Bernard, the Governor, replied that he could do nothing without his Majesty's commands, it did not please the town of Boston to wait for his Majesty's commands; and they again met next day in Faneuil Hall, and decided to raise the country; each man to provide himself with a well-fixed firelock, musket, and ammunition: and shortly after came toiling up to join them in Faneuil Hall, one hundred chosen men from ninety-eight Massachusetts towns; and together they deliberated a week, and declared their natural and chartered rights, the Governor bidding them all the while to disperse. Hither, in 1770, came the merchants, solemnly to pledge themselves not to import British goods; and when the Governor sent the sheriff to bid them without delay to separate and disperse, and forbear all such unlawful assemblies, they calmly considered the message, and unanimously voted to proceed: sending a written answer to his honor, that it was *their* opinion the meeting was warranted by law. Here, too, were laid, in solemn funeral pomp, the corpses of the friendless mulatto and the unknown stranger who were slaughtered by the fire of the British soldiery, when hemmed round by an exasperated people, on the 5th of March.

Here the people assembled till Faneuil Hall could not contain them, from the whole country round, to send back the tea that then typified taxation without representation; and day after day they waited the consent or refusal of the Governor to send back the ship laden with tea, voting meanwhile that whosoever should import that article till the tax should be repealed, was the enemy of his country; and that they would carry out their votes and resolutions at the peril of their lives. And when at length the Governor refused to do their will, "the meeting dissolved," says the historian, "in the twinkling of an eye, and in less than two hours, 240 chests and 100 half chests of tea were staved and emptied into the dock." Thus was Massachusetts placed in antagonism with the British empire. The odds seemed fearful; but Teutonic in valor and Puritan in principle, the men of those days never feared. They seemed to lose the superinduced Yankee capability of calculation, the moment the odds were to be counted. There was a period in American history,—that immediately preceding and during the Revolution,—when principle was paramount in men's minds, and they thought not of their miserable selves, but of their grand responsibilities and imperative duties.

And here we, their children, have come in our time, to fulfil for freedom a nobler duty, by a holier means;—to bind again the broken bonds of union with our ancestral land: and woe be to us if, "being so fathered," we neglect the sacred trust, of which every memory of this spot warns us to be faithful.

There is but one incongruous event in the history of Faneuil Hall, of which Freedom need be ashamed—the meeting of 1835, called by fifteen hundred of the most distinguished citizens of Boston, at the bidding of the South, to silence the Abolitionists. This meeting was followed by the mob in Washington street. The list of the fifteen hundred who called it, with the full report of the disgraceful resolutions and speeches, now lies before us. It would surprise a mercantile eye to see, by glancing over it, how large a proportion of the merchants who called that meeting to oblige their Southern correspondents and political allies, have since become bankrupt through the failure of those very correspondents. The men classed as merchants will remember the circulars they then received from Carolina, enjoining it upon them to silence the Abolitionists. All who received such injunctions may not have obeyed with equal readiness of servility, but only one house then stood forth, declared Abolitionists, from among the merchants of Boston.

It was an hour of shame and infamy which one would fain forget, if it were ever right to consign experience to oblivion. For the benefit of the *future*, men should remember the *past*; but surely, the great change of public feeling in Boston from that day, disgraceful to 1835, to the one which, in 1845, found the Abolitionists fully reinstated in their rightful heirship to Faneuil Hall, should plead the cause of the *present*, and be accepted as proof of repentance.

Here we now assembled, with the full and free acknowledgment of our right on the part of the municipal authorities, for ten days; the roof resounding every night to what the slaveholder and his Northern adherents call treason, but which the true freeman and the slave would deem the only loyalty. The decorations of the Hall for the occasion were chosen with reference to beauty, economy, and moral significance. Every one remembered the lines of Lowell,

"Run up again the pine-tree flag," &c.

and all felt the inconsistency of acting under the stripes and stars that float over the slave-auction, and the Capitol that sanctions the slave-auction. Not a United States flag or pennon was to be seen; but the white flags of the Anti-Slavery Societies were displayed against the galleries, with their Bible mottoes and devices, and the standard of the American Anti-Slavery Society—"No Union with Slaveholders." This last was displayed beneath the American Eagle, which forms one of the fixtures of the Hall; though on this occasion so thickly covered with green as to be hidden from the view. So ought this emblem of American freedom to be emblematically painted in the heraldry of true freedom, until the practical workings of the Constitution it typifies are changed.

Until that time of constitutional compromise be past, let the American Eagle and the defender of the American Constitution have the benefit of Dryden's apostrophe to another of the feathered tribe:

"Beast of a Bird! * * * *
What though his dull forefathers used that cry!
Could he not let a bad example die?"

It will not, we trust, be thought invidious, since the decorations of the Hall were considered so beautiful by all who entered it, to thank those to whom we are peculiarly indebted for them, and we take this first opportunity to express our gratitude to William Hunt, of Liberty, Maine, the Messrs. Allen, of Walpole, the friends in West Roxbury and Lynn, Stoneham and Hingham, and the Boston friends who labored so effectively and unwearedly during the three days previous to the Fair, in the elegant arrangement of the materials so generously contributed. Some estimate may be formed of the liberality, taste, and labor conjointly expended in the ornamenting of the Hall, when it is known that every yard of the rich and beautiful wreaths so tastefully disposed in Gothic tracery, would have cost half a dollar in the Christmas green-market. No money could have purchased the wealth of Rhododendron, and evergreen of every variety, or the taste which dressed the arches on the right and left of the rostrum, along the galleries, and in the centre of the Hall. They were supported by sheaves of the slender trunks of young spruce trees, in the style of which Gothic architecture is the imitation:

"And these pillars of clustered shafts so trim,
With base and with capital flourished around,
Seemed bundles of lances that garlands had bound."

Some additional estimate of the labor and expense given by our friends may be made from the fact, that the usual decorations for the civic and social festivals in this hall cost $150. Those far more beautiful and expensive ones, of which we now had the advantage for the cause, and which drew such numbers by their beauty and simplicity, cost the Fair only $9 50. We thought from all the data we possess, that this generous expenditure of labor and of taste on the part of the friends in city and country, must have saved about $300 in our expenses, and been the principal means of raising the additional sum of $1,000, which this year's sales amounted to over and above those of last year.

The whole gross proceeds were $3,754 15; the whole expenses, $249 38, exclusive of freight and duties on foreign donations, which amounted to $142 additional. If we had counted the proceeds of the annual preparatory Fair at Weymouth, and the money raised for the publication of the Liberty Bell, which used always to be done at the earlier Fairs, the gross receipts would have been much larger. The value received from different parts of the United States, taken at the valuation of the donors, amounted, so far as it could be ascertained, to $3,052 77. We know of many small amounts, which would considerably increase this estimate, if we could have obtained their particulars; but having been brought in, placed on the tables, and sold immediately, without prices, address, or names of donors affixed to them, with the evident purpose of avoiding publication, we were unable to take account of them.

The names of towns, from which the Fair received aid, are as follows:—

Abington,	New-Orleans, La.
BOSTON,	New-York, N. Y.
Cambridge,	New-Ipswich,
Cambridge Port,	Princeton,
Charlestown,	PLYMOUTH,
CONCORD,	Portland, Me.
CHELSEA,	Peru,
Canandaigua, N. Y.	Providence, R. I.
Duxbury,	Roxbury,
Dorchester,	Raynham,
Danvers,	Reading,
DEDHAM,	Rockport,
Fall River,	Rutland,
Hatfield,	South Bridgewater,
Hampton Falls, N. H.	Southborough,
Hanover,	St. Louis, Mo.
Hill, N. H.	Stoneham,
Hollis, Me.	Sandwich,
HINGHAM,	SALEM,
Hudson, N. Y.	South Boston,
Hubbardston,	Sudbury,
LYNN,	Townsend,
Lunenburg,	Upton,
Leominster,	Warren,
Lowell,	West Newton,
Leicester,	West Brookfield,
Liberty, Me.	Westminster,
Manchester,	Weymouth,
Medford,	Walpole,
Middle Haddam, Ct.	West Cambridge,
Milton,	Worcester,
Nantucket,	WEST ROXBURY,
NEW BEDFORD,	Watertown.

Of these, the ten whose names are printed in capitals are the largest contributors. Next to Boston, West Roxbury sent the largest amount; next to the foreign contributions, the New Bedford table was universally pronounced the most beautiful. To friends in Boston, Lynn, Hingham, Dorchester, Roxbury, and Lowell, the refreshment table owes its unexampled productiveness.

An account was kept of donations received for the ladies' room, and for the Bazaar table, but we find that the generous friends who supplied both, do not wish the publication. One of these donations should, however, be mentioned. Our Pennsylvania coadjutors will hail the lesson it teaches. "Four hundred and thirty-two crackers, (Anglice Biscuits,) made of *free-labor flour*, from the bakery of Wyman & Locke, Westminster, Massachusetts." From beginning to end, the supply kept pace with the need; and the friends to whom the cause is indebted for this effectual aid, are entreated to receive our grateful acknowledgments in its behalf, as well as the friends who so cheerfully placed their china and confectionary establishments at the service of the cause on this occasion; and though we know they do not, as far as themselves are concerned, wish for our acknowledgments, yet we hope they will not refuse us the satisfaction of expressing our grateful sense of their important aid.

According to the practice of former years, which experience has proved to be the most convenient and judicious one, the friends present from other towns were entreated to retain the responsibility of the ultimate disposition of what articles remained unsold on their tables, for the benefit of the cause; whether by little Fairs in their respective neighborhoods, to which we always give all the aid in our power, or by leaving them in our charge for the general purposes or specific objects of the cause. This year the friends generally packed their remaining goods for "THE RURAL ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR," which we propose to hold in the middle of the Summer, at Dedham, in behalf of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

As an instance of Cicero's *commune vinculum*, uniting all departments of morals, and of the certainty with which help afforded to one, helps not that alone, may be noticed the disposition of an Æolian Harp, from the West Roxbury table, purchased for the inmates of the State's Prison, at Auburn, New-York, by a friend of prison-reform, and presented to one of our associate-managers, who is also one of the matrons of the women's ward, and engaged in substituting moral influence for physical force in the regulation of her department.—Among the vases most admired was one turned from a block of African mahogany, presented by Mr. Dodge, of Cambridge, and another from Miss Lincoln, of Hingham, made of the rarest mosses, with two others on the Concord table, of stone, or a perfect imitation of it. The model of a cottage, from Walpole, perfectly proportioned, and neatly executed in moss, attracted much inquiry.

Almost every table had something beautiful and peculiar to itself. Salem brought books of sea-plants, ferns, and grasses from Plymouth Rock and Niagara, with splendid and valuable steel bead-work in silk and velvet. The beautiful New Bedford table was rich in Berlin worsted-work, and the Indian basket-work—a handicraft learned of the Indians themselves for this occasion. The pocket-book work of Concord, the Chinese importations of Boston friends, the straw-baskets of Raynham, the ornamental glass-work from Manchester, the brooms and brushes from Hatfield—who is sufficient to catalogue them all? The absent can never know what they lost. But, it is impossible to omit the "*real French*" boots from Lynn, as the Lynn friends might have called them, without fear of contradiction, had not "real Lynn" been a better as well as a truer praise, and "Robinson's best," as strong a recommendation.

An excellent Daguerreotype of Frederick Douglass, and another of the "Branded Hand," the gift of Mr. Southworth, elicited much attention; as did a kit-kat portrait of Frederick Douglass, by W. P. Brannan, a very promising young artist of Lynn, at whose studio it may be seen, and, as we understood, purchased.

The Hall was ornamented with the same placards,—"*cead mille failte*," &c.—with which the Cork Abolitionists decorated their saloon for the reception of our friend Douglass. We had the pleasure of giving them to Mrs. Douglass, agreeably to his request.

Several very cheering indications were attendant on the Fair of this year. One was the labors of a juvenile society in Boston, auxiliary to the Fair. The little ones composing it, gave one of their weekly half holidays for many weeks, and placed the result of their exertions on the toy-table, in the centre of the Hall. The juvenile society of Warren, Massachusetts, was also represented. Its blue banner, with the motto in white, graced the entrance of the Hall on the right—"Work for some good, be it ever so slowly."

Over the doors of entrance were placed, in large letters, the mottoes of the Liberator and Standard, through the hearty reception of which only, can a man enter into the Anti-Slavery movement. The motto of the Liberator, "My country is the world—my countrymen are all mankind," surmounted the door on the right; and the motto of the Standard, "Without compromise—without concealment," that on the left. The terms of subscription were also conspicuously displayed for the Liberator, and for C. M. Clay's paper. We should regret to say that but a trifling business was done in this line, were it not that the preventing cause was the briskness of the sales. There is a time for everything. This was the time to raise the funds which shall pay our debt to the Liberator, and by its means pioneer the way for all such movements as that of Cassius M. Clay.

The book-table was the most productive one at the Fair,—thanks to the taste and liberality of the Webbs, the Allens, the James's, the Carpenters, and the Wiffens, of Great Britain, and the friends whose contributions, literary and pecuniary, make the Liberty Bell. Almost the whole edition, by means of sales and presentation-copies to writers, donors, and friends at home and abroad, was disposed of. It was universally considered the best of the series; deserving and compensating for its greater expense, and beauty of mechanical execution.

Among so many things beautiful and curious, it is difficult, if not invidious, to single out the most curious and beautiful. Some, however, may without such a risk be mentioned; not only as unique, but as affording such illustrations of moral devotedness and mechanical genius as ought to stir other hearts to follow the example.

One of the most remarkable of these, is the valuable relic of antiquity, sent by MARGARET HYATT, of Hudson, New-York—the sister of CHARLES MARRIOTT. It can be described most briefly by a quotation from her letter to Mr. Garrison, which he therefore permits to be made, though not intended for publication, knowing that her love for the cause will sanction this use of it. "The beloved brother, who was formerly my adviser in the concerns of the cause, is removed to a higher sphere; but his parting injunction, 'Remember the cause of suffering humanity,' is ever present. The aspirations of his heart were for your faithfulness—*are still*—so I believe.

'Freed from its dust, from that great hour,
Their spirit on the noble band
Acts with a new, immortal power,
Inspires each heart, and nerves each hand.'

We are too remote to take much part with our dear and devoted sisters in your city for the promotion of the cause, but I should be glad to learn from thee or thy Helen, whether a large, illuminated folio Bible, printed in 1583, would be an acceptable donation to your Anti-Slavery Fair. I have this volume by me in a good state of preservation—Archbishop Cranmer's translation. It came from England, in our family library, and I know of no way in which I can render it more useful to the great family of man."

This splendid specimen of black-letter, which attracted many visitors to the Fair, is yet in our care; but will probably be soon secured for some one of our literary institutions. The sum requisite for the purpose is fifty dollars.

A beautiful Bell, or rather chime, of remarkable melody of tone, so arranged, bell within bell, as to give its whole concord of sweet sounds at a single vibration, was a great attraction at the central table. The mottoes are such as will be in vogue in those days the Prophet speaks of, when "holiness to the Lord" shall be written on the bells of the horses. On one side was inscribed—"My country is the world—my countrymen are all mankind."—GARRISON. On the other, "He is the infidel, who is the enemy of justice and humanity."

The following letter from the philanthropic donor, best describes this beautiful and novel invention, which was purchased, at the price marked, by George Russell, Esq. of West Roxbury:

MIDDLE HADDAM, (Ct.) Dec. 23, 1845.

Mrs. Maria W. Chapman:—I have forwarded to you, this day, by express, one of my "Patent Globe Bells," for the Fair. I obtained a patent for this Bell, about ten years since, but some parts being in an imperfect state, (and for various other reasons,) I did not then succeed in introducing it.

This (with three others just sent to New-York) is the first presented to the public, with improvements, and the first ever presented in this form as a substitute for the common dinner bell. To ring it, the jerks must be downward, heavy or light, in a way best to suit the ear.

I send, also, a fork with fasteners, so that by taking the handle off, and putting the fork on, it will easily slip into the fasteners, which must first be made fast to the harness of the horse. The brass fasteners are for wood harness; the leather ones for iron harness. The bell will ring, but not as well, when fastened to the dash of the sleigh. There are mottoes on the inside bells, which I have thought best to keep inside for a time. One of the large bells may easily be taken off, only be careful on screwing tight again that the rim of the bell does not touch the small bell pillars on either side.

The price is six dollars. They may be had in any quantity, together with my new pattern mohio sleigh bells, at the hardware commission house of Messrs. Clarke & Wilson, No. 5, Platt street, New-York.

Yours for the promotion of important truths,
JASON BARTON.

P. S. I wish the time had come, I would like to make a large bell for the great Abolition jubilant day!

A third remarkable and illustrative contribution of great ingenuity and beauty, is the subject of the annexed letter. It is a saddle-cloth and hunting-pouch of red broadcloth, embroidered with various colored *Wampum*, in the Indian fashion, from the slave State of Missouri:—

ST. LOUIS, (Mo.) Dec. 8th, 1845.

To the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Fair:

LADIES—Please to accept the saddle-cloth and pouch, that accompanies this, for sale at your Fair.

While many, especially in slave States, view the efforts of your Society as froth that the winds will destroy, permit me to assure you, that there are others, who can admire the sparkling brilliancy that marks its formation, as well as feel that, underneath, there is a swelling tide, that in its flow will wash the dark stain of Slavery from our beloved land.

That you may live to see that happy event, is the best wish of Yours, ——

This friend's name is not given till we learn whether or not its publication would peril his property and personal safety. His letter suggests to us the idea of fitting up a separate stall next year, for contributions from the slave States.

Three elaborately beautiful bed-covers, perfect in their design and execution, must not pass without their well-merited tribute of admiration. One of knitted cotton—the shell pattern—was the gift of the Misses Clapp, of Dorchester, and is reserved till the rural Fair next Summer, as sure, at that season, for which it is suited by its lightness and delicacy, to sell for its full value. The other, equally beautiful, intended for winter use, known and admired through the time of the Fair as the "North Star Bed-cover," and the most perfect and elegantly symmetrical thing of the kind ever exhibited at our Fairs, was sent by Mrs. Brooks, of Lowell, purchased at the price marked, by the subscriptions of friends, and presented to Mrs. Garrison. The third, made in the State of New-York, also of remarkable beauty, was in like manner presented to Mrs. Caroline Williams, in token of our esteem and respect.

A multitude of entirely new faces were this year present at the Fair, and we frequently heard such inquiries as the following from those persons, who were entirely ignorant of the recent past:—"What do you do with the money you raise?—Buy slaves with it? Bribe politicians with it? Help off fugitives with it? Form party organizations with it? Found colored asylums, and establish colored schools with it? Send the colored people out of the country with it?" "None of these things," we replied, admiring, the while, how innocently the majority of people can live through the turning period of a revolution, and never suspect what it is that does the turning. "How then do you spend it?" "In diffusing information, correcting error, disseminating truth, promulgating high and right principles, exciting public attention and sympathy, and producing a general change of public feeling, as to Slavery and slaves, freedom and freemen, by means of newspapers, books, tracts, and public lecturers, all of which it requires money to sustain, in order that Slavery may be abolished by the ultimate action of that renovated public opinion."

"But who is to see it all spent properly and economically? You all go to your homes a few days hence, and we hear no more of you."

"A wise question, and one we rejoice to have a good answer for. There is a body of persons, well known for the last twelve years, under the name of 'the American Anti-Slavery Society, and its auxiliaries and friends.'—These persons choose annually some dozen of their members to spend this and all other moneys entrusted to them, in sustaining the periodicals, the books, and the lecturers we told you of. Thus you see we are, through this simple means, of a small representative body of our own choice, and acting under our direction, 'in permanence,' as the French call it, until the abolition of Slavery shall be effected."

"Then you must, of course, spend some of your money in paying these presidents, vice-presidents, and the secretaries, treasurers, and agency-committee-men for doing all this business?"

"No. It is the highest satisfaction to a devoted friend of our cause to serve it for nothing. The most afflicting circumstance to an Abolitionist is the one that prevents him from giving his services to the cause. We can assure you of this from the knowledge we have of the feelings of hundreds if not thousands. Herein lies the strength of the Anti-Slavery movement. Unlike less radical, less thorough, and less deep movements, it is nourished from the life of its advocates."

"This is what is called fanaticism."

"No matter what it is called. It will abolish Slavery."

It is proposed, hereafter, as time and opportunity serve, to give some of these "conversations not imaginary,"—these "hours of the town-hall,"—these "nights of the Fair." They were too characteristic to fall like water on the sanded floor, not to be gathered again, and may hereafter shed a ray on some benighted minds, that a more purpose-like effort would fail to enlighten.

The list of contributors to the Liberty Bell of 1846, contains names dear to every Abolitionist, and every slave:—Thomas Clarkson, William Lloyd Garrison, George Thompson, Harriet Martineau, Eliza Lee Follen, Samuel J. May, Lucretia Mott, Susan Cabot, Adin Ballou, Edmund Quincy, Wendell Phillips, James Haughton, William and Mary Howitt, William P. Atkinson, James and Maria Lowell, Anne Warren Weston, Linstant, Daniel Ricketson, John Bowring, Benjamin S. Jones, and Jane Hitchcock. These are the Abolitionists, whose life and joy it is to be the servants of slaves. Would that the pages could have obtained the names of all our beloved associates; but it is often impossible for them to stop on the field of battle, even to write a summons of surrender to the enemy's camp. Many others there are, all of

Rev. Theodore Parker, T. W. Higginson, Esq. Alarie Watts, Esq. and others have herein done a good work for the cause—and willingly—because they know that there is no purpose on the part of Abolitionists to infer anything more than they themselves would have inferred from it. We deem too highly of our cause, to thrust its lying insignia on any unready brow. Not only the Liberty Bell, but the whole contents of the book-table, illustrated the catholic spirit of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. Here is "Channing on the Atonement," and "Carpenter on the Gospels." "Heretical!" you say.—Well—it is offset by Joseph John Gurney's Evidences of Christianity, and the tracts of Thomas Spencer. Here are Unitarian sermons, too! Yes, my friend, and there are also Evangelical tracts. What *would* you have a man give to the cause of Freedom, if not "of such as he hath?" Is freedom to be promoted by theological censorship? by proscription of opinion? Anti-Slavery condemns nothing but practical wickedness;—an entirely different thing—and one about which men have ever manifested a practical unanimity as remarkable as their diversity of opinion.

No feature of the Fair was more excellent and beneficial than devoting the six latter evenings, the period when the sales were least interrupted by the arrangement, to the addresses and remarks of eloquent friends of the cause. Some, of whose sympathy for the enslaved we had long been convinced by their conduct, now gave us the high satisfaction of listening to its expression for the first time in an anti-slavery meeting of the most radical character. Highly as we feel that those are blessed and honored, whom Providence permits to form the advance of the anti-slavery movement, we are not likely to misrepresent any whose feelings respecting the cause are different from our own. It would be impossible for us to do it the dishonor of attempting to identify with it any man, whose heart had not already chosen it as a portion of the highest good. While we have no reason to think that either JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, or E. H. CHAPIN, whose eloquent voices we heard for the first time, apply the principle of immediate emancipation as most of us think they ought, to the dissolution of individual connection with a slaveholding Government and Church, yet, while blaming that inconsistency, we all the more value their sympathy, and esteem their co-operation; for the man whose moral greatness prevents his meeting that blame with hostility, and whose heart impels him to say in the midst of the Abolitionists, "*our* principles," "*our* cause," is counted by them as a brother. They have ever esteemed the man who can tolerate greater strictness in the application of principle than his own conscience demands, as in the state of mind to which, as being ready to *do*, it shall be given to know what is *right* to do: a higher state than that of him whose devotedness does not keep pace with his intellectual perceptions; who, to save himself from personal sacrifice, perverts his mind by sophistry, instead of strengthening it by the fulfilment of duty. It is neither blame nor praise to the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society that, being first called, they have ever been the first to see the way of individual duty. The nation is approaching to their conclusion, through the same path by which they have attained it.

The only damp cast upon these pleasant hours arose from the illness of Mr. Garrison, whom great numbers came from a distance to see and hear. But his presence, on the platform, with the impressive eloquence of W. Phillips, the finished rhetoric and sound argument of C. C. Burleigh, the fluency and ardor of Remond, the calm serious earnestness of Quincy, the interesting personal narrative of Lewis Hayden, the admirable heart-felt testimony of Thomas P. Stone, and the clear and forcible statements of Davis, met the warmest reception in every heart, and did all that could be done to fill the regretted vacancy felt in the necessary silence of Garrison, and the enforced absence of W. H. Channing, from the same cause. The following communication from Channing, was received with deep and strong feeling by the audience, especially by his associates of the Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to whom it was read by Wendell Phillips:

Have the goodness to accept of my deep regret, that I am forbidden, by necessity, from expressing my sympathy and devotedness in the cause of Freedom to all men.

Especially, in this hour of our nation's disgrace, must I feel sorrow that I cannot add my voice to those lifted up in defence of justice, and in hope for the triumph of good. Never so much as at this moment should I rejoice to swear in the presence of *fellow citizens—men and women*—undying fidelity to the vital principles of this UNION OF FREEMEN which God proposed, and *yet proposes*, I believe, this nation to become.

There is but one thing to be feared in this crisis, and that is FEAR.

In the name of God and Humanity, of Christ and Christendom, of our ancestors' piety, of our own penitence;—in the name of our down-trodden brethren; and of the Spirit of Love, growing stronger in the hearts of the good, the earth round,—shall we yet conquer, soon conquer, if we are but faithful, hopeful, peaceful;—active and patient at once.

Though not present in the body, I will be present with you in the spirit in any struggle for the RIGHT.

Your brother in humanity,
W. H. CHANNING.

BOSTON, Dec. 29, 1845.

The Hon. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, "the Abdiel of the Democratic party," as Garrison called him at the recent Anti-Texas Convention in Faneuil Hall, was received, when he appeared, with three rounds of applause, and three cheers. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, who stands in the same relation of superiority to the Whig ranks that Mr. Hale sustains to the Democracy, was received with the same feelings of high respect.

Bad as the world is always said to be, fidelity to principle or duty,—right, freedom, or humanity, is sure to find an echo in all hearts. Even those incapable of following the example, yield for a moment to the contagious enthusiasm of high and right feeling.

The evenings owed much of their interest to the volunteer choir. The words they sung, expressive of the feelings of the devoted friends of freedom, would have had, with all their beauty, but little significance from other lips; but when the song burst up at the close of our last day,—the first of the year 1846,—while the floor of the Hall was filled with a deeply moved audience, and the amphitheatre behind the tables and beneath the galleries thronged with the families and immediate friends of the Abolitionists,—every face beneath the brilliant light glowing with the added brightness of high feeling, or half seen to kindle with the flush of righteous enthusiasm through the changing shadows of the pine-trees, whose tops yet trembled to the cheering,—the soul could not ask a happier augury for freedom than the tone of feeling of that hour. The song expresses the feeling, not of that hour only, but of an Abolitionist's life. It is here copied from the Liberty Bell, for which it was written:

SONG FOR THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM.

Faneuil Hall—Twelfth Anti-Slavery Fair.

BY ELIZA LEE FOLLEN.

Heart to heart, and hand in hand,
Bound together let us stand,
Storms are gathering o'er the land,
Many friends are gone!
Still we never are alone,
Still we bravely march right on!
Right on! right on! right on!

To the Pilgrim spirit true,
Which no slave nor master knew,
Onward! faithful, fearless few,
Liberty's the prize!
Full of hope that never dies,
Spirits of the free arise!
Arise! arise! arise!

Will you your New England see
Crouching low to Slavery?
Rise and say it shall not be!
More than life's at stake!
Rise and every fetter break!
Every free-born soul awake!
Awake! awake! awake!

Listen to our solemn call,
Sounding from old Faneuil Hall,
Consecrate yourselves, your all,
To God and Liberty!
On your spirit's bended knee,
Swear your country shall be free,
Be free! be free! be free!
Heed not what may be your fate,
Count it gain when worldlings hate,
Naught of hope or heart abate,
Victory's before!
Ask not that your toils be o'er,
Till all Slavery is no more,
No more! no more! no more!

Welcome then the crown of thorns,
Which the faithful brow adorns;
All complaint the brave soul scorns,
Burdens are its choice,—
While within it hears a voice
Ever echoing, rejoice!
Rejoice! rejoice! rejoice!

Soon, to bless our longing eyes,
Freedom's glorious sun shall rise;
Now it lights those gloomy skies,
Faintly from afar,—
Faith and love her heralds are,
See you not her morning star?
Hurra! hurra! hurra!

WEST ROXBURY, Mass.

While this was going on, one of those singular coincidences occurred, from which originated the common saying, "Truth is stranger than fiction." One of the speakers had previously alluded to the labors of the Abolitionists in the lustration of Faneuil Hall after the temporary profanation of Slavery, so that the bondman can now take shelter within its walls, and laying hold on the altar of Freedom, set the claims of his master at defiance. A stir was visible near the door, and an agitated movement in the dense crowd from thence to the left of the platform, showed that passage was being made for some visitor. We saw him as he leaned against one of the pillars, near the platform, beneath the left gallery, nearly fainting with the fatigue and the excitement of the strong emotion of his sudden introduction to the brilliant and unwonted scene before him. It was a fugitive slave. To tell from whence, or by what means escaped, would only close up the way to those who may wish to follow him to a land of freedom. He had at first found refuge in a cellar near, trembling with the exhaustion and terror of his long flight. Its inmates had the humanity to shelter him for the moment, but not the means of giving him continued support. They said—"Our neighbor, Mr. Marjoram, is friendly to your people—he is up at Faneuil Hall, yonder: run in *there*, and you will be safe." He obeyed the instructions—found the unwearied friend of freedom and humanity he sought, and told his little tale of peril and flight in whispers, to an excited circle beneath the gallery. It would have been cruel to exhibit his exhaustion and agony of alternate doubt and joy on the platform, as it was naturally the first thought to do. The spectacle of human nature in the extremity of its suffering, ought not, we feel, to meet the gaze of a great audience, even of the warmest friends of humanity: their thoughtful delicacy, if it could have been consulted, would not have consented to such a tax upon individual feeling. Hereafter, when this man shall tell his story, (no novelty, alas—there are millions like it,) may it kindle the sympathies of such as are hindered by its size from seeing the whole system of Slavery; through its fearful outline rises high above our land, "like Teneriffe or Atlas unremoved." Men cannot see it for the same reasons that they cannot, at first, discern the land-line of the Cape-de-Verds. They do not look high enough to where it trends along, so much higher than the altitude of ordinary coasts; above not only all temporal powers, but domineering over the seats of "spiritual wickedness in high places." Men's moral sense is ready to call overseers and auctioneers of negroes wicked, but seldom looks either high enough or deep enough to see that the Congress or the conclave of clergy whose sanction stamps these deeds as Christian and lawful, is no body for an honest man, much less an Abolitionist, to sit in council with. Men understand this principle well enough *on the wrong side*. They see plainly enough that they are known by the company they keep, if the question is of being art and part of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and they eschew the companionship, just in proportion as they are pro-slavery; yet they doubt whether they keep the slaveholder in countenance by their adhesion to his institutions!

"How do you know that this fellow is not an impostor?" was a question repeatedly asked respecting the poor fugitive, of whom we have been speaking. His master has not left that matter doubtful. The slaveholder's sign-manual was cut deep upon his shoulders, leaving those long, regular scars, the shocking spectacle of which could be exhibited only by a St. Lawrence from the torturing chamber, a Guatemozin, escaped from the hands of the Spanish soldiers, or an American slave. His limbs are covered with the scars of dirk-stabs; pieces of his flesh have been taken out by the knots of the lash. More horrid particulars might be given; but must be withheld for the double reason of sparing the sensibilities of those who cannot bear even to know what thousands in our own land are daily obliged to endure, and to avoid identifying this victim so as to subject him to pursuit.

He is rapidly learning to read, and the friend who has given him shelter and protection, finds him capable as a cook, waiter, or coachman; and is trying to find a situation for him, where he may be free from anxiety of mind as to being re-captured.

Any family needing such services may learn more by application at the Anti-Slavery office, 25 Cornhill.

In strong contrast with this picture of distress, was the bright and cheerful one exhibited by the pupils of the colored school, with their excellent teacher, Mr. Wellington, who visited the Fair daily, disproving by their whole appearance and manner, the assertion of the prejudiced portion of the community, that the free blacks of the North are only the more degraded by their freedom. Prejudice has been too active to permit a fair trial of it. Their circumstances have been made so unfavorable by the persecutions to which their color has subjected them, that though they are not slaves, the people of color of the North are not free in the same sense as the rest of the people. Still, we may ask without fear of contradiction, even from the most prejudiced, whether our colored visitors and colored associates in this Fair, did not prove themselves at least our equals in all that dignifies humanity?

Our associations and friendships of many years have shown us so clearly the absurdity of the popular prejudices, that it seems ridiculous to confute them, till we recollect how few we are, and how cruelly these prejudices still bear upon a whole race of men, shutting them out from the means of enjoyment and improvement that should have been their heritage.

On reviewing the scenes, incidents, and tendencies, too, of the whole ten days, we cannot but agree in the sentiment we copied from one of the ornaments of the Hall, wrought by a young daughter of Robert Folger Walcutt:—

"What do the fathers say to the scene before them? THEY SAY THEY ARE WELL PLEASED: they wish it had been long ago; but they are glad to see it now."

It will be necessary to make the round of the Hall a second time, to take note of the foreign contributions, which eclipse the home department in variety and beauty. Like that "spiritual theory of another life," which supposes one set of existences within another, like the drawers of a desk, we find England, Scotland, and Ireland, occupying the spaces between New-York, Massachusetts, and Missouri. The water-color drawings and pencil sketches from Glasgow, Cork, and Bristol; the most beautiful of them the productions of the daughters of the late Rev. Dr. Carpenter;—the valuable autographs from the Dutchess of Sutherland and the Wiffen family, and the elegant selection of writing materials from Bristol friends, and from R. D. Webb, and Anne Allen, of Dublin, attracted continual admiration, and contributed greatly, especially the latter, to the pecuniary success of the occasion. An oil-picture of Derrynane Abbey, the seat of O'Connell, was presented by James Haughton, with the autograph and seal of the Liberator. A water-color sketch of Lough Attry and the twelve pins of Benahola, surrounded by the Highlands of Connemara, county of Galway, was presented by R. D. Webb, and looked at with great interest, as from the pencil of the well-known Irish novelist, Samuel Lover, known here not as an artist, but as the author of "Rory O'Moore," "Handy Andy," and other works of much celebrity as delineations of Irish character.

But the beautiful Glasgow table took the lead of every other. A wonderfully regular and elaborate table-cover from Glasgow, made of rich silk octagon pieces, and valued at $40, was purchased at that price by Mrs. May and friends, and presented to a friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, whom it has given them satisfaction to see engaged in its promotion.

A crimson-braided cloak, of extraordinary beauty, was purchased at $25, the price marked, and presented to BLANCHE LOWELL, the infant daughter of the poet, by the friends of her father and mother, who are also, with them, the advocates of the Anti-Slavery movement, and happy in the constancy with which it is supported by the Abolitionists of Scotland.

Time and space would fail for the enumeration of all the interesting particulars of foreign donations: but we cannot forbear to specify the beautiful Victoria infant's dresses, scarfs and shawls of every variety; the elegant thermometer, sent through George Thompson, by a distinguished Jewish lady—a friend of our cause; the *papier mache*, and exquisite net-flowers from Bristol. The paper folder from Cork, made of the Mossgiel Thorn which shaded the dwelling of BURNS, the Bog-oak ornaments from Dublin, the etched napkins from Bristol, the exquisite Staffordshire porcelain, sent by Edward N. Wright, of Philadelphia, (which we omitted to mention in its proper place,) and the novel and beautiful porcelain door-handles and plates, from Elizabeth Pease.

The elegant contributions of Esther Sturge, Hannah Bevan, Jane Wigham, Sarah Cozan, Sarah Hilditch, Esther Bright, of Rochdale, Mary Wiffen, Susan Crampton, Mrs. Ames, and many others, brought relay after relay of visitors and purchasers; and we rejoice to be able to report to them the complete fulfilment of all their kind wishes for our success.

To our beloved friends, Mary Welsh and Catharine Paton, more particular acknowledgments will be forwarded hereafter, with information respecting the sales of the splendid donations forwarded from Glasgow, amounting to nearly £200.* We refer them to the subsequent resolutions of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, at its recent quarterly meeting, as expressive of the feelings of all American Abolitionists:—

Resolved, That the generous and unwearied co-operation, this year received from the beloved friends of our cause in Scotland, Ireland, and England, practically proved in the eyes of the foes as well as to the hearts of the friends, by the beautiful contributions from abroad to the Twelfth National Anti-Slavery Bazaar just held at Faneuil Hall—contributions which excited so much admiration, awakened so much sympathy, and contributed so greatly to raise the previously unexampled pecuniary amount of $3,754 15, to the operations of the American Anti-Slavery Society, demands the warmest acknowledgments of all Americans, and does hereby receive the assurance of our heartfelt gratitude; whether as members of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, members of the Committee of the Bazaar, or as individuals identified with the cause of freedom; since in all these capacities, we have been helped and strengthened by this most highly valued co-operation, to a fresh devotedness and renewed energy in the prosecution of our holy cause.

Resolved, That the great principles which direct our conduct, being universal in their application, have made us feel our country to be the world, and our countrymen all mankind; and thereby caused us to disregard the narrow prejudices against *foreign* aid and *foreign* influence, and to welcome aid from other lands than this, with *peculiar* satisfaction, as affording an evidence that those same principles have made a deep impression on the hearts of men throughout the world.

The report of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society expresses the same deep sense of what we owe to our British coadjutors.

The contributions from Bristol consisted of between six and seven hundred articles, well suited to the market, and of exquisite neatness and beauty. The names of the donors are here subjoined:—Rev. Messrs. Armstrong, Davies, Grinfield and James. Messrs. Bryant, Champion, Estlin, Jenkins, Morgan, Russell, and C. J. Thomas. Mesdames Acland, Ames, Armstrong, Carpenter, Doyle, Foy, Jacques, Jennings, Kentish, Lang, J. L. Lawford, Michell, Palmer, Russell, Reynolds, Swayne, Tyndall, Tommy, and T. Thomas. Misses Alexanders, Carpenters, Cobb, Cree, Dunsfords, Davis, Estlen, Frye, Goodeves, Hall, Hankin, Hill, Lean, Lima, Lewis, Ovens, Parnall, Parkeses, Powell, Philip, Payton, Pool, Richardses, Rankins, Reynolds, Swayne, Sturges, Trevivick, Thomas, Wetherman, Wall, Wheeler, Williams. Girls of the Lewins Mead Charity School, Milliners' Apprentices, Mr. Estlin's servants, children, &c.

The blessing of a suffering race be upon them, and all who have thus responded to its voiceless sorrow! They have done more than merely to send a contribution, however beautiful, to a Bazaar. They are witnesses to America, that the pleading of the Abolitionist, unheeded in his own land though it be, finds an echo in the land he loves to call his fatherland—his mother country—a land whose religious principles and whose moral teachings are in this respect like his own, that they condemn the system and practice of Slavery, which his birthplace helps to justify.

It is difficult indeed coldly to chronicle the contributions of those beloved friends whom some of us have seen, and so many more can hardly realize that they have never seen, since the long and deeply-interesting interchange of thought and feeling in the prosecution of the cause.—It is not in any printed, nor yet in any written page, that American Abolitionists can say what they feel of pleasurable and grateful emotion to R. D. Webb and family, to James Haughton and family, to Richard and Anne Allen, to the Jennings family, to the Fishers, the Pooles, the Varians, and so many others whose names throng up for utterance, when the question is of what the advocates of American freedom owe to Ireland.

With Elizabeth Pease, Esther Sturge, and Hannah Bevan, and many others in England, we come into the same relations of strong personal sympathy which act as a check upon publicity in their expression. We beg them to convey to the friends bearing the following names our sense of comfort and help in our great cause in their energetic co-operation:—

The Misses Haughton, Waring, English, Ledlie, Bell, Bovington, Mrs. Kennedy, Mesdames Wilfred, and Samuel and William Haughton, Miss Blackely, Mahary, Curran, Pim, Armstrong, Lady Georgiana Croker, Misses Hone, Mrs. Classon, Mrs. John Classon, Miss Classon, E. Germyn, Alexander Carson.

One most affecting thing was observable in the gifts from abroad, which should be mentioned, from the frequency of its occurrence, if it were only for that; but it is worthier of mention as showing the sweetness of the "uses of adversity," that so large a proportion of them should have been accompanied by memoranda like the following:—"I know not what the price of this ought to be, as I have been an invalid many years; apprise it at your discretion."—"Made by orphans at a school in Bristol."—"Made by Elizabeth Buesher, a little girl sick for a year."—"The work of a crippled hand."—"From Albinia Lerma, an orphan child." The exquisite netted shawls and articles sent by Elizabeth Pease and the Duchess of Sutherland were "the work of the blind," whose asylum these friends of our cause help to sustain. Many pretty things came from happy childhood and youth, as if to show that gayety and joy need not make the heart insensible to suffering humanity, and were marked in this way: "From Frances Armstrong, aged 4 years."—"From Caroline Cafton, Croyden, Surrey, a boarding-school lassie:—playhour work," &c. &c.

It was delightful to be made to feel, by many of these inscriptions, how truly the sympathy of the laboring people of England is with us. Have we not motive to be doubly faithful to the warfare for freedom, were it only to pay back "into their own bosoms, good measure, heaped up and running over," the benefit they bestow on America, by helping us to make her a fit example for European nations, so that her people's sin and inconsistency may no longer bring reproach upon her principles of popular Government.

* The amount from Glasgow and Edinburgh would have been much greater, but for a request which we ventured to make with some diffidence, that the contributions might be forwarded by the 6th of November. We owe especial thanks for compliance with this request which was granted at much personal inconvenience and sacrifice.

The inscriptions of many beautiful articles—"From a servant"—"From a house-maid"—"From Eliza Dunn, a cook"—"From Thomas Jordan, working shoemaker"—"From Anne Morris, a shoemaker's child"—"From James Henry, Thomas Street, Thomas Cuttle, William Condon, David Ludgate, Dennis Kely, workmen in the Messrs. Varian's Brush-making establishment"—are touching and significant. There is *one* spot on earth,—the anti-slavery field of labor,—where all are esteemed according to their worth, and where hard work and high moral feeling, from whatever division of society they come, from highest to lowest, are titles of nobility.

We shall, from time to time, ask the publication in the Liberator and Standard, of many appropriate and some very beautiful lines sent from Dublin, Bristol, Woburn, and Glasgow. It was our first intention to have printed them in this account of the Fair, but there is not room. Some we shall ask the writers' permission to reserve for the next number of the Liberty Bell—which it is proposed to make far more excellent and beautiful than ever before, by beginning immediately to make collections for it; and we beg our English, Irish, and Scottish friends to forward their articles as early as convenient, that the work may not again lose in beauty and excellence from the extreme haste which has been detrimental to it in former years.

Money received by M. W. C. for the Liberty Bell and National Anti-Slavery Bazaar, during the year 1845.

Lucy Gates,	$5 00
Gilbert Clark,	6 00
Mary Ann Bishop,	1 00
Mrs. Mansfield,	1 75
Mrs. Isaac Smith,	1 00
Westminster Sewing Circle, by Abby Wyman,	3 06
By Samuel Keese, from Almira Nichols, Penn.	2 00
Mrs. Mary Sprague,	1 75
J. Caldwell,	1 00
Collection and donation of H. K. Brown, Rutland, by hands of W. L. Garrison,	2 25
West Brookfield, by J. M. Fiske,	14 43
Harriet Matthews,	2 75
Louisa Loring,	35 00
John C. Gore,	100 00
Mrs. Earle,	4 06
Goods sold by friends in Fall River,	11 00
Miss Roby, (payment made after last Fair,)	5 00
S. May, do.	1 00
Charles F. Hovey,	25 00
Paulina S. Wright,	2 00
Maria Lowell,	5 00
D. & C. A. Joy,	10 00
Edmund Jackson, (by H. Chapman,)	21 00
M. G. Chapman,	5 00
D. Ricketson,	5 00
F. M. Robbins,	6 37
E. L. Capron,	1 00
F. H. Drake,	4 00
Lydia Walker,	2 00
E. Jackson, (by W. Phillips,)	5 25
A. G. T. Phillips,	5 00
Samuel Philbrick,	8 00
Caroline Coffin,	3 00
A. C. Spooner,	3 00
Nancy Babcock,	10 00
Joseph Ricketson,	5 00
Nancy Robinson,	5 00
E. & H Dorman,	3 00
Marcus Spring,	20 00
William Shew, (by W. L. G.)	5 00
E. Sturge,	5 00
E. & M. Cushing,	2 00
Caroline Emmons,	5 00
H. and C. Sargent,	11 00
"A friend,"	5 00
S. H. Earle, (donation and collection,)	25 00
A. White,	25 00
Mary Young,	3 00

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

☞ Some valuable things yet remaining, it is desirable to make available to the cause as speedily as possible;—pictures, books, embroidery, &c. An original picture of Dr. CHANNING, by Flagg, considered by Alexander, and other distinguished artists, as possessing great merit, will be sent out of the country in a few days, unless retained by a higher offer.

☞ The paintings owned by Robert Purvis, William Oakes, and Robert Douglass, are only waiting a good opportunity, for safe return, with the thanks of all friends who have seen them.

☞ Friends who are awaiting replies to their recent welcome letters, are entreated to pardon all necessary delay, as their number is greater than can be attended to so quickly as is desirable. All their requests shall be finally, and, (as nearly as possible) seasonably, attended to.—M. W. C.

The War begun in Maryland.

The only safety for Slavery is that it shall never be spoken of. If it permits itself to be examined, it knows it must fall. Let a voice be raised against it, no matter where, whether North or South, the unerring instinct of self-preservation demands at once that it shall be silenced. The mobs, the burning halls, sacking churches, destroying presses, and shooting their defenders, the tarring and feathering of lecturers, and the persecution in every form which make up the history of the anti-slavery enterprise, is precisely that which must have been the history of any sincere and determined opposition to the system. That there was or could have been any movement in Virginia or Kentucky to abolish Slavery, fifteen years ago, is necessarily a lie, let who will assert it, and is proved from the fact that Slavery feared nothing then, and has ever since met with the terrors or the threats of lynch-law, every attempt at abolition since that time, both at the North and South.

The Baltimore Saturday Visitor is an Anti-Slavery paper. Mild and cautious, eschewing hard words, and in its language eminently cautious of giving offence, with none of the reckless daring, and earnest fire,—though no less sincere—of Clay's True American, yet it is already marked out for the same fate. It must be stopped, for it is guilty of the crime of opposition to the peculiar institution. Slavery will not brook a questioning, come in what shape it may.

From the proceedings of the Maryland Legislature, as reported in the Baltimore Sun, we copy the following paragraph:

Mr. Clagett submitted preambles and resolutions, that as in the opinion of this House the "Saturday Visitor," a paper published in Baltimore, by J. E. Snodgrass, is an incendiary paper, in view of ch. 325, of 1835, and is calculated to create discontent and stir up insurrection among the people of color of this State; therefore,

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to institute such legal proceedings against the said Snodgrass, as in his judgment, SHALL SEEM BEST TO CONVICT HIM of a violation of the said act of 1835, and to abate said newspaper as a public nuisance.

The proposition was laid upon the table. But this, probably, is not the end of it. Mr. Snodgrass is a marked man, and must be silent, or submit to be silenced. I mistake the man if he will be the former, or if anything short of brute and brutal force will oblige him to the last. May he be strengthened by the reflection that he has the sympathy of all the lovers of liberty everywhere, and that any sacrifice and suffering which he may be called to endure, will be borne in the noblest and holiest cause that man can live for.

News from Europe.

So great has been the anxiety for intelligence from England during the past week that every body probably has heard that brought by the Hibernia, which arrived at Boston, on Friday last. The satisfaction which is almost universally felt in it is shown in the renewed activity in the business world, and in the almost universal feeling that there is to be no war. The reception by the public press of the braggart message of Mr. Polk, and the tone of the leading papers in London and elsewhere on the Oregon question, give assurance that England is not mad enough, whether the dominant party in the United States is or not, to waste blood and treasure on a "point of honor." On this point the news by the Hibernia is of the first importance, and most grateful to all who hate the shedding of blood. We echo the sentiment of a cotemporary—"Laus Deo."

We receive also the interesting and important intelligence of the restoration of the Tory ministry. Lord John Russell failed to organize a cabinet, chiefly from the refusal of Lord Grey to form a part of the Government if Lord Palmerston was to be at the head of the Foreign Department. The question of a repeal of the Corn Laws is therefore still in suspense. The English press is in great uncertainty about it, though the general impression seems to be that the Corn Laws will be gradually abolished.

The following is an official list of the re-administration of the British Ministry:—

First Lord of the Treasury,	Sir Robert Peel.
Secretary of the Home Department,	Sir J. R. G. Graham.
Lord Chancellor,	Lord Lyndhurst.
Lord President of the Council	Duke of Buccleuch.
Commander-in-Chief,	Duke of Wellington.
Secretary for Foreign Affairs,	Earl of Aberdeen.
Lord Privy Seal,	Earl of Haddington.
President of the Board of Control,	Earl of Ripon.
Chancellor of the Exchequer,	Rt. Hon. H. Goulburn.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancast'r.	Lord G. Somerset.
Commissioner of Land Revenues,	Earl Lincoln.
Secretary at War,	Rt. Hon. S. Herbert.

The following are the new members of the Cabinet:

President of the Board of Trade,	Earl Dalhousie.
First Lord of the Admiralty,	Earl of Ellenborough.
Postmaster General,	Earl of St. Germains.
Secretary for the Colonies,	Hon. W. Gladstone.

On the 30th December, Louis Phillipee opened the session of the French Chambers with the usual formalities. His address contains nothing of general interest.

The Spanish Cortes were opened on the 15th December, and addressed by the Queen. She announces that order and peace reign throughout her dominions.

From other portions of Europe there is little news of any consequence.

New Hampshire Democracy.

The Independent Democrats of New Hampshire have recently held a Convention, and nominated Nathaniel S. Perry, of Hebron, as their candidate for Governor. He is the candidate, also, of the Liberty party. Among some of the resolutions passed at the Convention, we find the following. They show that something of the spirit of Democracy animates the Independent Democrats of New Hampshire:

Resolved, That the objects, progress, and consummation of the annexation of Texas to this Union, have inflicted an unspeakable outrage upon the cause of human liberty, and sullied with indelible disgrace the fame of our country among all civilized and Christian nations. The faction of the slave power have accomplished a triumph over the interests of freedom and humanity, with a most contemptuous indifference to the rights, duties, honor, and wishes of the free people of the United States.

Resolved, That while we deplore the event which disgraces our country and our Republican Institutions, and consigns to more hopeless bondage many thousands already enslaved, we will yet never despair of the cause of truth and right. Knowing full well that the conscience of Christendom, the common voice of all civilized nations, the spirit of the age, and the laws of God are on the side of liberty, we will never belie our convictions of right, nor cease to have unshaken faith in the principles of human equality, and in the doctrine of the inalienable rights of man.

Resolved, That while we would firmly maintain and carefully protect what territory we already possess against foreign encroachment or invasion, yet, admonished by the fate of other nations, we would beware of the evils attending upon an undue enlargement of our territorial limits—that prudence and safety forbid the farther multiplication of interests already so numerous and conflicting as to require the greatest degree of wisdom and moderation on the part of the General Government to regulate without danger to the harmony and integrity of the Union—that Slavery is, in itself, a moral and political evil of such magnitude as to counterbalance all the national advantages that are claimed will accrue to us from the acquisition of slave country—that instead of enlarging the precincts of Slavery, or adding to the immense number of its unhappy victims, we hold it to be a duty we owe to the cause of freedom, of our country and of humanity, to use all *moral* and *constitutional* means for the extirpation of that tremendous evil, and to oppose any project tending to introduce it still farther among us.

Resolved, That no new slave State should be admitted to this Union.

Resolved, That our Delegation in Congress, by neglecting the wishes and will of their constituents, as expressed at the three recent elections in New Hampshire, have proven recreant to the interests and rights of their State, and merited the disapprobation and censure of every philanthropist, Christian, and patriot.

Resolved, That Hon. Moses Norris, Jr. by his recent vote in Congress on the gag rule, has shown that he is the proper exponent of the political principles of his masters, the members of the central clique, but not of the Democracy of New Hampshire.

Resolved, That the present leaders of the Democratic party in this State, having betrayed all the principles on which the party was first planted, we are bound—every Democrat in New Hampshire is bound, as he loves his country, and her free institutions, to renounce all connection with them—*and all who bow in submission to such leaders.*

Resolved, That the genius and spirit of our free institutions require that the State be districted, for the choice of Members of Congress; and we will give our influence for the choice of such members of the Legislature as will cause the same to be done at the next session of the General Court.

☞ The subjoined verses present in strong contrast the condition of the American slave in his own land, and as the visitor of other lands. They were purchased (printed on embossed cards) at the Faneuil Hall Bazaar, having been sent for the occasion from Cork and Dublin, where our friend Douglass has been so warmly received:

SOLILOQUY OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS VERSIFIED.

See his "Narrative," page 64.

Ye are loosed from your moorings,
Ye are free to glide on
Before the glad breezes—
I gaze—ye are gone.
Before the *glad breezes* ye proudly proceed—
Whilst I 'neath the *blood-lash*, groan, suffer, and bleed!

Ye are freedom's swift angels
That fly round the land;
An iron-bound slave I—
And marked with a brand!
That brand bends the spirit beneath its control—
It breaks down the body, and RUINS THE SOUL!

On your gallant deck sailing,
Oh! would I were free—
The deep, turbid waters
Divide you from me,
A man among men, why, oh! why was I born—
To be used like a brute, to be goaded and torn.

The glad ship has vanished,
Has moved from my sight—
And yet I here linger
'Neath Slavery's blight!
Just God, send me freedom—attend to my cry—
Ha! is there a God? why in chains do I lie?

I have but one life,
Yet that life shall be free;
I will die or escape
From thy HELL—Slavery—
Now Heaven be my helper—and this very Bay—
Shall bear me, (God willing,) from bondage away!

DUBLIN, Oct. 1845. M. B.

Fourth Annual Report of the Glasgow Female Anti-Slavery Society.

No friends of the Anti-Slavery cause seem more clearly to understand the philosophy of the reform they have undertaken, than the Scottish Abolitionists. We have just received their annual report, which shows that they have all the zeal of reformers, as well as all the clearness of vision of philosophy. Our beloved friend, H. C. Wright, appears to have done a good work abroad, in applying the principles of right to the free Church of Scotland, and to the American Union.

The reading of this report has greatly cheered us.—C.

PORTRAIT OF C. M. CLAY.—We are indebted to Mr. Robinson for a lithographic print of Cassius M. Clay. The likeness is certainly a better one than those usually taken from Daguerreotypes, in which there is always a lack of full expression, as the finer lines are wanting. This of Mr. Clay, however, gives us his look of bold energy and "courage never to submit or yield."

For sale by Mr. Robineon, No. 142 Nassau street. Price 25 cents.

☞ The great length of our leader this week, must be our apology for the omission of a variety of matter, which we had intended to give our readers. To those who read the Liberator, it is proper to say, that owing to some mistake in Boston, they have a repetition of the article in this week's Standard, which should have been given them in last.

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Poetry*: The Falconer; Last Words of a Respectable Man; Think of the Slave. *Miscellany*: Letter from an Owl to a Poet; Capital Punishments, &c. *(concluded)*; Items.

FIRST PAGE.—*Pro-Slavery*: An Abolition Movement; Mr. Giddings's Attack on Mr. Winthrop and the Whigs of Boston; Dough-Faces. *Selections*: The Rights of the Free States Subverted, *(continued)*; Political Influence of Women; Final Abolition of Slavery in Ceylon; Mr. and Mrs. Foster; The Case of Kidnapping in Berrien County; Light from the South—Speak Out.

SECOND PAGE.—An Appeal for Rights. *Communications*: Quarterly Meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society.

Married,

In New Brighton, Beaver county, Pennsylvania, on the 13th instant, at the house of Mary B. Townsend, BENJAMIN S. JONES, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to J. ELIZABETH HITCHCOCK, of Oneida Castle, New-York.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

General Items.

Late and important from Mexico.—The Mexican schooner Julia, at New Orleans, from Vera Cruz, brings intelligence from the city of Mexico to the 23d ultimo.

Paredes was certainly on his march to the city of Mexico, and our minister, Mr. Slidell, was still there.—The supreme Government had appointed Gen. Bustamente commander-in-chief, and Gen. Rorregon his second in command, of the army to oppose Gen. Paredes. That paper says the Government is indefatigably working to quell the revolt; and that it has already taken the necessary measures to put the capital in a state of defence, and given out 3,000 guns to be distributed among the citizens. On the 21st ultimo, the Senate concurred with the Government in giving dictatorial powers to President Herrera. El Siglo says that Paredes had seized upon the public treasury at the fair at St. Juan, which had been committed to his charge.

On the 23d, the forces of Paredes were said to be only three days' march from the city of Mexico.

On the 24th the troops at Puebla under Gen. Inclan, who had received orders to march to the capital, refused to depart, and it was certain that notwithstanding the efforts of the General to the contrary, they would soon declare in favor of Paredes, as did the navy and army at San Juan d'Ulloa. General Almonte was concealed, fearing persecution. The latest intelligence is to the effect that Perote had declared itself for Paredes, and that the numerous cavalry of that General were in the near vicinity of the capital. His artillery and infantry were between the city and Arroya-Sareo. The cities of Orizava and Guanajuato had also declared for Paredes at the approach of his forces.

It was presumed that the gates of the city of Mexico would be opened to Paredes. It was stated that the Government Council after long deliberation, had determined not to receive Mr. Slidell in his ordinary official capacity, notwithstanding its previous engagement to receive a Plenipotentiary from the United States, with special powers to treat on the subject of Texas. This conclusion of the Government took place after Mr. Parrott had reached Mexico on his return from the United States.

In the Monitor of the 23d, is published Herrera's proclamation calling upon his compatriots to rally in defence of the laws. It is a long document, and concludes as follows:—"It is my duty to defend our liberties, and yours to sustain me."

A bill to suppress gambling, passed the House this afternoon, having previously passed the Senate. It is a very stringent measure, and if faithfully enforced, must suppress the vice to a great extent in this

Poetry.

From the Liberty Bell.

THE FALCONER.

BY J. R. LOWELL.

I have a falcon swift and peerless
As e'er was cradled in the pine,
No bird had ever eye so fearless
Or wing so strong as this of mine;
The winds not better love to pilot
The clouds with molten gold o'errun,
Than him, a little burning islet,
A star above the sunken sun.

But better he loves the lusty morning
When the last white star yet stands at bay,
And earth, half-waked, smiles a child's forewarning
Of the longed-for mother-kiss of day;
Then with a lark's heart doth he tower
By a glorious, upward instinct drawn,—
No bee nestles deeper in the flower,
Than he in the bursting rose of dawn.

What joy to see his sails uplifted
Against the worst that gales can dare,
Through the northwester's surges drifted,
Bold viking of the sea of air!
His eye is fierce, yet mildened over
With something of a dove-like ruth,
I am his master less than lover,—
His short and simple name is Truth.

Whene'er some hoary owl of Error
Lags, though his native night be past,
And at the sunshine hoots his terror,
The falcon from my wrist I cast;
Swooping, he scares the birds uncleanly
That in the holy temple prey,
Then in the blue air floats serenely
Above their hoarse anathema.

The herd of patriot wolves, that, stealing,
To gorge on martyred Freedom run,
Fly, howling, when his shadow, wheeling,
Flashes between them and the sun;
Well for them that our once proud eagle
Forgets his empire of the sky,
And, stript of every emblem regal,
Does buzzard's work for Slavery.

Mount up, my falcon brave and kingly,
Stoop not from thy majestic height,
The terror of thy shadow, singly,
Can put a thousand wrongs to flight;
Wherever in all God's dominions
One ugly falsehood lurks apart,
Let the dread rustle of thy pinions
Send palsy to its traitor-heart.

No harmless dove, no bird that singeth,
Shudders to see thee overhead;
The rush of thy fierce swooping bringeth
To innocent hearts no thrill of dread;
Let frauds and wrongs and falsehoods shiver,
For, still, between them and the sky,
The falcon Truth hangs poised forever,
And marks them with his vengeful eye.

ELMWOOD, Nov. 26, 1845.

THE LAST WORDS OF A RESPECTABLE MAN.

"Such were the words of one, universally respected, whose memory will ever be cherished by his inconsolable relations."

A rich man dying called his son,
To hear his last advice:
Whispering he spake—his sight was gone—
His feet were cold as ice!

"Beware of evil spendthrift ways,
And wasteful company;
Be wise and frugal all your days,
If you would virtuous be.

"Opinions current in the world
Adopt with deep respect,
New-fangled thoughts and things, at once,
My prudent son, reject.

"O'er word and deed keep constant guard,
Your bright side let men see;
Society lays down certain rules
For all morality.

"Be your attendance at your church
Constant; your prayer-book new;
Dress well, and do not fail to choose
A handsome, central pew.

"In friendship have a wakeful eye;
Avoid a needy friend:
He's Nor your friend—who something wants;
Borrow not—neither lend.

"All men in troubled waters, shun,
And all things out of joint;
Good tables seek—and dinners give
As your best interests point.

"If any woman you have wronged—
Vice causes sad expense—
Have fortitude—oh, fly from vice—
Leave her to Providence.

"For marriage, in my will you'll find
A safe, directing voice,
Where birth and competence combined,
Will bless your father's choice.

"Something I had to say on truth;
Something on honesty;—
My memory fails—but stick to both,
When the best policy.

"Gather my bills up—pay my debts,
And call my credits in;
With all men I would die at peace,
And all good memories win.

"One debtor—he is very poor—
A carpenter by trade—
He'll never pay; so by this man
You'll get my coffin made."

THINK OF THE SLAVE.

BY JOHN BOWRING.

Sons of the hills! who feel the fresh, free breeze,
See the free buds among the waving trees,
Hear the glad sounds of heaven's free melodies—
Think of the slave!

Sons of the vales! where flows the unfettered rill,
Singing its inland song—rejoicing still—
Wandering or lingering at its own sweet will—
Think of the slave!

Sons of the ocean! when the raging sea
Dashes the rocks,—majestically free—
While the storm's thunders shout of liberty,
Think of the slave!

Sons of the desert! where the fierce simoom
Mantles with clouds the earth,—the sky with gloom,
But flees when gentler influences come—
Think of the slave!

Sons of the city! where the eternal tide
Of agitation rolls on every side,
Urging its restless surges far and wide—
Think of the slave!

Sons of the Deity! whose word hath said,
"I of one blood have all—*all* nations made,
I am their common Father and their head"—
Think of the slave!

LONDON, Sept. 29, 1845.

Miscellany.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

LETTER FROM AN OWL TO A POET.

To the Author of the "Falconer," a Poem in the "Liberty Bell."

MY DEAR FRIEND:—You are a poet, and, as all poets should be, a professed lover of truth. But a poet should not give currency to vulgar heresies, his errors should be of his own breeding. Are there not members of Congress, editors of papers, preachers of the Gospel, and enough other licensed dispensers of common-place errors? Why, then, should a poet take up the trade of lying? You will excuse my bluntness of speech, for I have not been educated in any fashionable refinements; I have studied in no college, nor read any other law than the law of nature. I live in the branches of an old pepperidge tree, close by the cottage of a quiet book-worm; I would call him a glow-worm, but that he has never let his light shine upon the darkened world, and he often comes and sits upon a mossy stone beneath my lodgings and reads aloud, not aware, perhaps, that there is a listener within reach of his voice. A day or two since he came with a companion, and read to her from a pretty book which he called the Liberty Bell. My feathers fluttered at the sound of so charming a name. Here is something, I said, that an owl may listen to with pleasure. He began reading "The Falconer," and I expected, of course, that the cruel wretch who makes a pastime of the sufferings of others, without exposing his own person to danger, would be likened to the slave-dealer, or to a cruel tyrant of some kind; but imagine my horror, and how my eyes rolled in their sockets, to hear the book-worm read these lines:—

"I have a falcon swift and peerless
* * * * * *
Bold viking of the sea of air!
His eye is fierce, yet mildened over
With something of a dove-like ruth;
I am his master less than lover,—
His short and simple name is Truth.

Whene'er some hoary owl of Error
Lags, though his native night be past,
And at the sunshine hoots his terror,
The falcon from my wrist I cast;
Swooping, he scares the birds uncleanly,
That in the holy temple prey,
Then in the blue air floats serenely
Above their hoarse anathema."

Pray, my dear poet, tell me of any error of any owl to equal the wanton villany of the falcon, who dizened with false feathers, and covered like a human dandy with jingling bells, flies into the air and buries his talons in the innocent vitals of the first bird he encounters, for the mere amusement of idle fellows and silly women, who have not the honesty to follow some useful occupation? Did ever any owl commit an error like this? And you personify Truth in the likeness of a falcon, and make me, who never did aught wrong, the personification of Error. "Some hoary owl of Error!" I hoot, it is true, but 'tis by God's permission; I shun the light of day, but is not the night of God's making? If I were to court the day then I should indeed be an "owl of error;" but I have ever lived true to my instincts, and have never lent myself, like the bird you deify, to the scoundrel uses of men. I fulfil my mission. What more would you have? Do you reproach me with my hoariness? and make my length of nights the cause of likening me to error? Is error as old as truth?

I am certain, my friend, that you will confess you have done me a wrong. You, who have ever looked kindly on nature, cannot, surely, find it in your heart to brand a true being, like myself, with an evil name. From you, to whom the humble dandelion was an "Eldorado in the green," I thought I might hope for justice. One of your tribe has almost turned the contempt of mankind into tender sympathy towards my injured friend, the ass. Will you not undo the wrong you have done me, and teach your fellow-men that all living creatures, excepting man, are true to their Creator and to themselves? That I, who can discern things clearly in the darkest night, am as much an object of admiration as the eagle, who can look at the sun without winking? Ha! 'Tis a common faculty, seeing things in broad day, but how few there are who can see clearly in the dark, like the despised owl. And in this the owl is like the poet, whose eye pierces through the darkness of error.

I am not vain, as you know, and I may say, without reproach, that there is not a feather-biped more esteemed for gravity and truthfulness, among the world of birds, than myself, while the falcon is hated by all classes for his bloody-minded traits, and for the frivolous habits which he has acquired from his intimacy with mankind. I never laughed but once, and then it was at the sight of a hooded falcon with bells tied to his legs, while the human being that held him in her hand wore a bird's feathers on her head. Ho! ho! ho! I always laugh when I think of the sight. And this scoundrel fowl, the only one that ever wore a false habit, is deified as an image of Truth! Ha! I grow fustigatory at the thought.

I trust, my dear friend, that these few lines will not rumple your feathers, as your abuse has done those of Your ob't. servant,

THE OWL.

TO THE POET OF ELMWOOD.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS UNSANCTIONED BY THE GOSPEL, AND UNNECESSARY IN A CHRISTIAN STATE.

A Letter to the Rev. Sir John Page Wood, Bart. B. C. L. by the Rev. Henry Christmas, M. A. F. R. S. F. S. A. late of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. Cornhill: 1845.

[CONCLUDED.]

(4.) Lamech would hardly have supposed his life in danger for having accidentally, or in self-defence, slain a young man. His family were active, powerful, and popular. The case of Cain was well known, and esteemed, as we see, a kind of precedent. If we imagine, on the other hand, that Lamech, in revenge for an attack made upon him, had slain the aggressor, we can then well understand the apprehensions of Adah and Zillah, and Lamech's verses would bear some such interpretation as this:—Do not be alarmed for my safety. If Cain, who had no cause of complaint against Abel, has not been put to death for murdering his brother; but, on the contrary, to slay *him* is a crime which must be avenged seven-fold, surely to kill me, who *had* cause of complaint against the person whom I have killed, is a crime which must be avenged seventy-and-seven fold. At all events, it seems generally understood that, whether a murderer or not, Lamech had shed the blood of man, and he did not, so far as we hear, suffer any judicial penalty for it.

(5.) The next case is a postdiluvian one, the massacre, viz: of the men of Shechem by Simeon and Levi, the sons of Jacob. Here there can be no doubt whatever of the character of the offence; it was a murder as treacherous and as brutal as any recorded in the pages of history: it is true that the family of Jacob had been insulted; but the insult had been the doing of one man, and *all the men* of the city were slain for it. Now, though Jacob probably had little influence over his turbulent sons, yet had there been any universal command enjoining the punishment of death for murder, he must have caused them to undergo the penalty of their crime, for Jacob was not only the head of his family, but a prince, and a great man. Yet we hear not a word of any judgment passed on these fierce and cruel men.

(6.) The patriarchal age, therefore, gives us no light, save in the instance of Cain; and in the negative evidence afforded by the cases of Lamech and the sons of Jacob, there is no proof that the punishment of death was ever inflicted by the hands of the law; and it is more than probable that such penalty was neither commanded nor contemplated. In a case of such vast moment, too, we have a right to expect the clearest and most unmistakable evidence—a direct command spoken by the mouth of Deity, and incapable of being interpreted in any other manner—and even this would require strengthening by proof that those to whom it was addressed so understood and so acted upon it; at least we should require the absence of proof to the contrary. How then stands the case? It is admitted that Patriarchal law and practice are more important by far to us than Mosaic, both because of their greater antiquity and their greater universality; and when we regard that dispensation with a view to its theory and practice on this topic, we find it doubtful, to say the least, whether any command existed, and more than doubtful whether any general adoption of the practice prevailed.

VI.—(1.) Entering upon the æra of Moses, we shall find our theme will assume a new aspect. The punishment of death is pronounced by the Divine authority against a long list of offences,—the fact cannot be denied,—the sentence cannot be otherwise explained,—the practice cannot be disputed. The questions, then, which we have to solve are two:—

1. Are the circumstances of Christians sufficiently parallel to those of the Jews of old for us to be warranted in adopting the same philosophy?
2. Is the Mosaic law binding upon us in those parts where capital punishments are pronounced?

The first of these questions we have already considered with regard to the consequences of death to the party slain; and we must here observe, that the position of the judge is also different. We must not allow it to escape from our remembrance, that the constitution for which the Mosaic code was established was not a monarchy, nor a republic, nor any kind of mere human government, but a PURE THEOCRACY. God himself ruled among His people; His visible presence rested on His mercy seat. HE was king,—HE was leader,—HE was judge,—HE appointed his own ministers. In some cases He instituted a trial by ordeal, engaging *Himself* to declare the guilt or innocence of the parties accused,—the waters of jealousy will furnish an instance.* He appointed the Urim and Thummim, by which He might at all times be consulted. He inspired His priests and His prophets, and thus not only supplied by His spirit the spiritual and eternal sanctions which are not to be found in the written law of Moses; but by constituting Himself the final Judge of appeal, He made it impossible that the innocent should perish or the guilty escape.

(2.) I think this very important fact is entirely lost sight of by those who argue in favor of capital punishments, because they formed a part of the Jewish code. And as it is not lawful to argue against anything from its abuse, so it is illogical to deny the validity of a principle by reason of a corrupt practice. We know that the pure THEOCRACY of the Jews did not continue, that the oracles of the Urim and Thummim became silent, that in degenerate days the Spirit of God no longer inspired the Judges of Israel. But the lofty theory of the law remained the same, and its principles were no more changed by the degeneracy of the people, than those of our Church are changed by the fact, that nine-tenths of our population are self-excommunicated. The law was made for a congregation of believers presided over by their Maker, and when that congregation became idolatrous, when they substituted a king for their immediate and divine ruler, then many portions of the law of Moses became as little applicable to the Jews as they would have been to the Greeks.

(3.) We are compelled in our day to judge according to evidence, and that evidence, as we well know, may be false; it may be given in malice or revenge, or with a view to screen the guilty; but unless there be counter evidence it must be received. Again, *circumstantial* evidence may mislead us, and there are instances on record of persons who have been put to death on such proof who have been subsequently discovered to have been innocent. Yet this is an unavoidable defect in all human courts; we must either judge thus or leave crime unpunished, and the consequences in this latter case would be far more appalling. So that in addition to the expiatory character of the malefactor's death, a character no longer admissible, the law of Moses contemplated a perfect certainty, and not a high probability merely of guilt. Thus at every step we diverge still further from the supposed parallel between the system of capital punishment under Moses, and the system of capital punishment in Christian states.

(4.) Again, if we seek to uphold our practice by the sanction of the Levitical law, we are proving too much. What right can we possibly have to select one, two, three, or four offences, and say, these we will punish with death because God thus commanded Moses, and remit on our own authority the same punishment in other cases? What title, for instance, have we to leave the adulterer and adulteress unpunished,—to fine the blasphemer five shillings,—to recognize as a lawful act the eating of blood, and to put the murderer to death, when the written law denounces the same penalty against them all? The practice of our courts is to pronounce, or rather to record, sentence of death against persons convicted of rape, unnatural offences, and arson, but these persons are never now executed; their sentence is commuted for various terms of imprisonment or transportation, and the murderer only is expected, according to a phrase once correct but no longer applicable, "to *expiate* his offences on the gallows." When, however, we thus reason, the Levitical sanction is given up, and we are referred back to the covenant with Noah.

(5.) But further, in considering what parts of the Mosaic code are still obligatory, we shall be much aided in our researches by the *possibility* of observance. It is agreed that the whole of the ceremonial system is repealed,—that the sacrificial institution, with its dependencies, has been rendered unlawful,—that circumcision is remitted, and the exclusive character of the dispensation has passed away; there remains, therefore, only the moral code, and that moral code at once divides itself into two parts, 1st. That spoken by the mouth of God himself; and, 2d. That which was conveyed to his people through Moses. The first is *complete*, and is capable of universal application; every moral obligation, as well as every spiritual duty, may be elicited from it; the peculiarities of no age, and the circumstances of no climate or race, render it inappropriate, and hence, whatever decision we arrive at about the law delivered by the lips of Moses, we feel ourselves reverendly bound to receive that delivered by the mouth of God.

(6.) It may be taken as an axiom, that whatever has been *immediately* revealed by the great Supreme, is in some sense more important than that which is *mediately* revealed; and in accordance with this canon, the Jews themselves have ever looked upon the rest of the law as a Divinely inspired comment upon the decalogue, as applying the provisions of that code to the chosen people, and as constituting the *exclusive* portion of the Mosaic covenant. That they were right in so deeming it, may be shown from the general consent of nations, who have allowed devotion to God, and reverence to parents, to be duties of universal obligation, and by an equally universal agreement have condemned blasphemy, false worship, murder, theft, adultery, false witness and covetousness; thus they have, without collusion come to the same determination as the Jews—while these latter have ever considered their law, that is, the commands of God delivered to them through Moses, as a peculiar inheritance, with which other nations have nothing to do. If, therefore, the Jewish theory of their own institutions be the correct one, it will follow that all that is binding upon Christians of the Old Covenant, is comprised in the decalogue.

(7.) But the decalogue is a list of duties to be performed, and of crimes to be avoided; it has no provisions for the enforcement, by human means, of its enactments. Some of them, such as the Fifth and Tenth Commandments, are incapable of such enforcement, for who can define with accuracy what shall be a legal amount of honor to parents? and who can see into man's heart whether he be covetous or not? Hence it is that the decalogue, which is the highest degree of legal generalization, says nothing about punishment by the hand of the law for any offence whatever; and if we be right in taking the Jewish theory as to the exclusive parts of their constitution, and in accepting "the law written on two tables by the finger of God," as that which alone is binding upon us, we shall conclude that the Levitical dispensation gives us no sanction whatever for the continuance of capital punishments.

VII.—(1.) The last ground on which the penalty of death has been advocated, is a negative one, and may be stated thus.

Christ our Lord declared that he came "not to destroy the law, but to fulfil;"† and therefore, every portion of that law which was not strictly ceremonial, or typical, or expressly repealed by him, must be still in force. Now, capital punishment is not typical, nor ceremonial, nor did he indirectly or directly repeal it, therefore it must be still in force. This statement, which I have taken great care not to *understate*, contains a fallacy in every portion of it. For, first, the declaration of our Lord, "I came not to destroy, but to fulfil," is understood as though he had said, "I came not to repeal, but to confirm," whereas the true meaning of the Saviour is, I came not to annul the sanctions of the law, and to defraud it of its claims, but to fulfil what you, and your ancestors, and those who shall succeed you, neither have been, nor ever will be, able to perform. I came to fulfil in your stead the works of the law, that the deficiencies of those who with a true and lively faith believe on me, may not be reckoned against them. Our Lord thus propounded a great theological truth. The Scribes and Pharisees fancied that he claimed to annul the law of Moses. He shows them that he does it the greatest honor. HE, in his character of man, as the great spiritual representative of our race—the second Adam—executes all the conditions of that law; and as a covenant, all whose conditions are fully and faithfully executed, is not destroyed but fulfilled, so he did not destroy the law but fulfilled it. But though the moral law is still binding on us as a rule of life, we are no longer placed under it *as a covenant*; we are under a covenant of grace, and FAITH, not WORKS, is to be the instrumental cause of our acceptance with God.

(2.) I am driven into this "*pure theology*" by the fallacy which it refutes, and thus is induced a second necessity of protesting against the doctrine of faith *without* works. Works are necessary as evidences of our faith, for where no works are produced, there faith is dead, and consequently unacceptable before God To return to our subject:—Christ's fulfilment of the conditions, and suffering the penalties of the law, abrogates those conditions, and remits those penalties, so far as we are concerned; and thus the very passage which, misunderstood, and politically regarded, makes against our arguments, does, when rightly viewed and theologically considered, greatly support it.

(3.) With regard to the assertion that capital punishment is not ceremonial, we willingly admit it. Neither the axe, nor the guillotine, nor the gibbet, can easily be ranked among *ceremonies*; but when we are told that it is not typical, we come to another fallacy—we know that it is not *now* typical, and hence we object to it; but previous to the incarnation of our Lord, the death of the malefactor was looked upon as an *expiatory sacrifice*, and was consequently as decidedly typical as the offering up of a bull, or the letting free of the scape-goat. So far then as it is allowed that all *typical* portions of the Old Testament dispensation were *ipso facto* repealed by the revelation of the New—so far as it is admitted that on the appearance of the antitype, the type loses its significancy—so far must it be conceded that the very incarnation of the Saviour, without rendering a single word necessary, did repeal, *ipso facto*, the punishment of death.

(4.) But is it true that neither directly nor indirectly did our Lord intimate such repeal? Has he left the matter altogether as it was? We think not. We do not, indeed, find that, *totidem verbis*, the penalty of death is pronounced unlawful; but we have a new system with which the former one was inconsistent; and it will not be difficult to show that it formed no part of our Lord's intention, to develop, during his human life, every consequence of his Divine mission. In the first place, till his own sacrifice was accomplished, the Mosaic law continued in full force, and he could not, therefore, in his human person, repeal it. It was not till the awful words, "*It is finished*," were pronounced, that the edifice of types and shadows, like a building whose purpose was accomplished, and whose days were completed, fell into ruins. So long therefore as the preaching of the Lord was heard, so long was the law of Moses the only authorized channel of salvation; and this, too, will account for what, on any other principle, would be perfectly incomprehensible; viz: the far greater development of theological truth in the writings of the Apostles than in the recorded teaching of the Lord. He spake while he was fulfilling the law, and thus changing the covenant with man, but while the covenant of works was still in force. They wrote when that covenant had passed away, and they were instructed by his SPIRIT in the "things pertaining to the kingdom."

(5.) We have thus seen that our Lord could not, consistently with the scheme of his office as Redeemer and Substitute, repeal the law; it was binding upon HIM as a man till he had accomplished it. But if we suppose that he gave no instructions as to the grander philosophy, and loftier morality, of the "truth as it is in Jesus," we shall be greatly mistaken. It was not to be expected that he would go through every precept of the Levitical code, and repeal or confirm as the case might require. But if he gave any clue to the principles on which he intended to base his morality, it will be amply sufficient—AND THIS HE DID. In the first place, he entirely repealed the *lex talionis* which had pervaded the Jewish mind.* He instituted a system of ethics in which the curb was placed far more decidedly and universally on the heart instead of the outward actions; and at the same time that he thus led men to understand that God expected more of them than hitherto they had apprehended, he gave them less right to be rigid one with another.

(6.) On one occasion only the punishment of death was brought before him as a matter for his decision. A woman was taken in adultery, "in the very act."‡ Those who brought her before Christ stated the circumstances, and observed, that Moses had enacted against such the penalty of death by stoning, but referring the case at the same time to him for judgment. The persons who thus questioned him were captiously disposed, and we have already seen reasons why Christ could not, during his own life, repeal that law which he had come to fulfil. He evinced an unwillingness to decide—"stooping down, he wrote with his finger upon the ground, as though he heard them not." But they were determined to be heard; and after a second time thus exhibiting a disposition to evade their importunity, he rose up and replied in the memorable words: "He that is without sin amongst you, let him first cast a stone at her." On hearing this they "being convicted by their own conscience, went out, one by one, beginning at the eldest, even to the last." The answer of the Lord is in all respects remarkable. 1. For its wisdom. The Scribes and Pharisees, had he replied Yes or No, had an accusation ready against him.—Had he said, Let her life be spared, he would have been accused as hostile to the law of Moses. Had he answered, Let the law take its course, he would have been accused to the Roman governor as arrogating to the Jewish law the right of life and death, which the Romans had taken away. But it is, 2 Remarkable for its insight into the human heart.—He knew how guilty even of that very sin were those who brought the woman before him, and from the context I think we may assume, that he saw the penitence of the woman herself. When the woman was left alone before the Saviour, he said unto her, "Woman! where are those thine accusers; hath no man condemned thee?" She saith unto him, "No man, Lord." And Jesus said unto her, "Neither do I condemn thee—go and sin no more."‡ It is singularly to our purpose that this narrative has been perversely cited as proof that Christ did not condemn adultery, and the way in which Paley vindicates the morality of the Gospel is strongly against the infliction of capital punishment. "Hath no man condemned thee?" That is, hath no man adjudged thee to death? "No man, Lord!" *In their private judgment* all had condemned her, but judicially no one had done so, and her reply, as well as our Lord's acceptance of it, prove that it was of a judicial condemnation both spake, "*Neither do I condemn thee*" that is, again, neither do I adjudge thee to death.

(7.) Now, I think we may presume that, had our Lord intended the punishment of death to be in any future age denounced against adultery, he would have qualified this sentence. It would have been easy for him to have informed her of the due punishment of her offence—to have declared that the law was just and right, and would ever be so—and finally to have pardoned her in consideration of her penitence. It would have been easy to have given then (the only recorded opportunity) his sanction to the continuance of the penal code; but he did none of these things; he simply asserted that he did not judicially declare her worthy of death, and thus, whatever becomes of the rest of the penal system, it is quite clear that adultery is no longer a capital crime. Now, if a great moral offence, as this is, be thus specially exempted from the pain of death; and be thus specially exempted, not because it was selected purposely, but because it was accidentally brought before the notice of the Lord, may it not be assumed that all offences of less enormity are exempted by the effect of this provision? And what offences are there of greater criminality; if we except murder? At all events, the class of crimes to be punished with death must be reduced to a very small number.

(8.) But if any portion of the penal system of Moses be repealed by our Lord, it must be perfectly arbitrary on our part to decide concerning the rest, that we will consider some in force, and some not; and though we may have good reason for rejecting capital punishments in cases of any crime short of murder, are we justified by such negative evidence as we have, in retaining it even in these? Is the course of our reasoning, and the tenor of our action the same in other instances? Take the case of Slavery, an institution regulated by the law of Moses, and recognized by the writings of the Apostles. What do we say when this topic is brought before us? We at once reply, without hesitation, that Christ did not rectify all the evils that were in the world at once,—that he left the consequences of his religion to develop themselves,—that the Apostles were not the founders of the Roman polity, and that in declaring all men equal before God, they implied an equality of civil rights among men. Further, we say, that negative evidence is not sufficient to sustain a system so charged with evil as that of Slavery, and that in default of positive testimony in its favor, it must be abolished. Thus spake the voice of Christian England, and it was heard.

(9.) Thus we have briefly passed in review the grounds of what has hitherto been considered a melancholy necessity. We have considered the sanctions of the patriarchal, the Mosaic, and the Christian dispensations, and have slightly touched on the moral and political question. But before we recapitulate, there is one circumstance which ought not to be passed over in silence:—it is, that sections of the Christian Communion, however widely differing one from another, are capable of agreement on this point, regarding it as a theological question; and it not unfrequently happens that the very ground stated as an objection by one party, shall be the very reverse of the ground given by another. Thus the Roman Catholic, whose belief concerning the sacrament of penance, and the rite of absolution, tends to persuade him, if not of the perfect and absolute security, at least of the comparative safety of the sinner dying, albeit by the hands of justice, in that faith, cannot without alarm see the same sentence carried into effect on those destitute of such advantages; while the Protestant, disbelieving the spiritual effects thus referred to, is in equal alarm for the safety of those who perish for their crimes, with their minds blinded, and their consciences deceived. The one beholds a sinner "sent to his rest unshrived and unblest:" the other a hardened malefactor, dying in delusive hope. Those who still maintain that man is to be saved by his works, see the desperate condition of a man whose works are evil, and who has no opportunity afforded him of amendment. Those who know that "without holiness no man can see the Lord," and who know the difficulties in the way of the necessary change, cannot but shudder at the probable results of death as a legal penalty.

(10.) We shall now recapitulate. We began this investigation by a brief inquiry into the moral and political necessity of capital punishments. We had reason to conclude, that, as a preventive, they have utterly failed; that they tend to harden the heart of the multitude, and to depreciate among them the value of human life. That they have established an "aristocracy" of evil, and that they have brutalized the public taste.

We went on to show that the spiritual condition of the person thus put to death must be perilous in the highest degree. That in many, if not most cases, the chance of his conversion is an exceedingly remote one, and that we have not the slightest reason to believe that God will set aside his ordinary judgments on account of human enactments.

Thus far we referred to the nature of the case, independently of any Divine command, or any Divine sanction, expressed or implied. But as it is stated that God gave a command to Noah to put the murderer to death, we examined the passage supposed to contain such injunction, and were led to believe that the very fact itself, *i. e.* the existence of such a command, was exceedingly doubtful. We found that here were many ways in which the text had been interpreted, and that many of the most important versions entirely left out that clause which committed to the hand of man the office of avenging the blood of the slain.

(11.) In addition to this we were led to regard the death of the murderer, whenever it did take place, (and this too is doubtful under the patriarchal system,) as an expiatory sacrifice, and consequently differing in character from the same kind of punishment in our own days. When from the patriarchal we proceeded to review the capital punishments of the Levitical dispensation, we found not only this difference, but a provision whereby the innocent could never suffer, and the guilty could not escape. We noticed the long list of offences punished with death, and perceived that in nearly all these cases the law had rightly or wrongly been repealed. Hence it was plain that no practical adherence to the penal code of Moses prevailed, and we have also shown that such adherence was not expected on the part of the Jews, who considered all their law, save the decalogue, as their national and peculiar inheritance. We noticed also the evidence that the decalogue *alone* is binding on us as Christians, and showed how any system of punishments could hardly find a place in so strict a generalization. Thus it appeared that neither the law as given to Noah, nor the pre-mosaic practice, nor the Levitical code, afforded the supposed sanction,—the first two from want of sufficient evidence, the last from want of any parallel between the Jewish condition and our own.

(12.) When we turned to the Christian æra, we found many parts of the Levitical system, *ipso facto*, repealed; we found our Lord's declaration that "he came not to destroy but to fulfil," capable of a theological meaning only, and one which is as much against the punishment of death, as its first and apparent meaning is in favor of it. We saw, too, that in the only case where he was called on to adjudicate as to the infliction or non-infliction of death, he decided against it, and thus we may fairly assume that the genius of Christianity is opposed to capital punishments. Even if our case had been less strongly supported, if the *positive* evidence by which it is sustained had been weaker by far, still that on the other side is so doubtful, and so much of it negative in its character, that we may well question the *lawfulness* of *death* by the hands of the executioner.

Lastly, it is but to weigh the difference between one punishment and another. There are many modes which would obviate the necessity of the gibbet, and would yet furnish a penalty dreaded as much, if not more, by the malefactor. If such should be tried, and (as a preventive of crime) should fail, they will then but be in the same category in which capital punishment now stands, and there would be removed from the national responsibilities the sending so many unprepared souls to appear before God. If, on the other hand, they should be found more successful, there will be a double gain. Under all circumstances, the experiment may safely be tried. It falls not within the compass of this letter to suggest what kind of penalty should be substituted for death. The wisdom of our lawgivers can hardly fail to devise appropriate and effective means for securing the public peace, and preserving the public virtue.

I shall now, at least for the present, take my leave of a subject which I approached with diffidence, and which I trust I have treated with calmness. If anything which I have advanced shall tend to remove the theological scruples still existing on this momentous topic in the minds of benevolent and conscientious men, I feel that I shall not have written in vain.

I remain,
My dear Sir John,
Yours most faithfully,
HENRY CHRISTMAS.

* Numb. v. 12, *et seq.* † Matt. v. 17,

* Matt. v. † John viii. 3, *et seq.*

‡ We do not enter here into the genuineness of the narrative, thinking it enough that it is supported by Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and many other Fathers.

General Items.

Female Teetotal Lecturer.—A Mrs. Carlisle, of Dublin, Ireland, an independent lady, 71 years old, has recently commenced public lectures in England on temperance. In the course of an address in Liverpool, the aged lady stated, that she had been eighteen years a visiter with the late celebrated Mrs. Fry, and related circumstances of the most heart-rending character that had originated in the use of intoxicating liquors. She had travelled through Ireland, Scotland, and a great part of England, disseminating the principles of abstinence among the religious public, and her labors had been abundantly blessed, hundreds having signed the pledge through her instrumentality.

At the conclusion of one of her lectures, a Mrs. Simpson, a woman sixty years of age, entitled the Queen of the Liverpool Teetotallers, delivered a short but impressive speech, stating that she had been nine years a total abstainer, had borne twenty-one children, and was now healthier and by far happier than when she used intoxicating drink.

If there be any class of the community specially interested in the temperance reform, it is women; for if there be any special sufferers from the effects of intemperate drinking, women are those sufferers.—*Traveller.*

Tirrell the Supposed Murderer.—This man, who is at present in prison at New Orleans, has addressed a letter to the editors of the Picayune, denying that he has any intention to commit suicide. He says:—I know my innocence of the charge for which I am arrested, and feel conscious, (in spite of the singularity of my conduct in changing my name and leaving my home about the time this tragedy took place,) of an acquittal by a jury of my countrymen, and until that time arrives, and the evidence *pro* and *con* is heard, I think that common humanity demands a suspension of public opinion.

A colored woman presented herself a few days ago to the authorities of New Orleans, complaining that her former master—one Cyprio Driskill—had abused and beaten her, after emancipating her according to law. Driskill, on his part, claims that at the time of issuing the paper which gave the woman her freedom, he was in debt, and consequently the act was not binding;—in other words, that the complainant was a slave still. The magistrate deferred his decision on this intricate point,—at the same time taking occasion to reprehend Driskill's conduct in the severest terms.

Anti-Capital Punishment.—Thomas A. Smith, of Syracuse, New-York, writes to the Prisoner's Friend, at Boston, as follows:

"During the ensuing winter we shall probably take some *active* measures on the important question of the abolition of capital punishment, by the formation of a society or otherwise—such as public meetings for its discussion—or both. There is a wholesome state of feeling in this community on the subject, among the better informed portions, as I have had great evidence to show, to wit: I obtained last winter, with little trouble, the signatures of near one hundred of our best citizens to a petition to our Legislature, praying for this object. More could have been obtained then: and many, it is believed, who then would have hesitated had the petition been presented to them, now subscribe readily.

"What we have most stood in need of, has been a *Speaker*. The feeling has been right, in the right portion of the community; there has been wanting a *voice* to give shape and utterance to these feelings. This desideratum has, in a good measure, been supplied by the settlement of the Rev. Mr. May among us. The measure accords with his sympathies and his judgments, and his fine talents will be made available in its promotion."

Magnetic Telegraph.—The wires are all placed from Boston to Springfield; thence to Hartford and this place the holes are dug for the reception of the posts, but as yet none of them are erected. The posts, however, from Springfield to Hartford, are prepared, and would have been prepared from Hartford to New Haven but for failure on the part of contractors. The wires follow the railroad track, stop at Barnsville, and turn down Grand street to State, and thence down State to Brewster's splendid building on the corner of State and Chapel. It is hoped the wires will be placed in time for the transmission of intelligence from the next Boston steamer, though this is doubtful.—*New Haven Herald.*

Another Champion Fallen.—The Falmouth (Jamaica) Post, brings us the intelligence of the death and burial of *William Knibb*, the distinguished Baptist minister, who, for the last fifteen years, has been the bold, eloquent, and untiring champion of the colored population of Jamaica, whether bond or free; and who, consequently, has had to endure a storm of pro-slavery persecution, such as few men on earth could meet without quailing. In 1832 his chapel (with many others) was destroyed by the mob, and he was compelled to flee from the island to save his life. Nothing daunted, he went to England, and proclaimed in the ears of the religious portion of the people, that Christianity and Slavery could not co-exist on the same soil, and that the extinction of the latter was essential to the propagation of the former. His voice was heard in clarion tones, and it electrified the masses as though it came directly from heaven. The cause of emancipation, which, until that period, had made slow progress, now felt an irresistible impetus given to it, and in the course of a few years triumphed over all opposition. West India Slavery was destroyed, and religious and political freedom substituted in its place. Immortal honors belong to Knibb, for the intrepid part which he took in that great conflict. His death will cause a great sensation throughout England, where he was very popular as a faithful champion of the slave.—*Liberator.*

The Detroit Daily Advertiser states that a project is on foot to establish a colony or community of the colored people, on the State or Government lands North of the Grand river, in Michigan. An agent from Xenia, Ohio, has been out to look at the country, and make a report to his brethren in that State.

O'Connell's Tribute Money.—It is stated that the tribute for 1844, realized to Mr. O'Connell the enormous sum of £25,000. He has received from the people of Ireland, for the last ten or a dozen years, from £15,000 to £20,000 each year, independent of the "rent," the gross receipt of which for the years 1843 and 1844, were £100,000.

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of 15 or 20 boarding pupils. They will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association. The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry is deemed indispensable to education, which should aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious tendencies in active, practical life.

We shall consider $100 a year as an equivalent for instruction and board; from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. The year will commence on the 1st of May, next, and will have no fixed and entire vacation. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

O. MACK, *Director of Education.*

BROUGHTON MEADOWS, Northampton, April 14, 1844.

FREE CALICOES

JUST received, 1 case fine calicoes. Also, 2 cases fine shirting muslins; together with a large assortment of other free dry goods, at reduced prices, wholesale and retail. CHARLES WISE,

Northwest corner Arch and Fifth streets.

Philadelphia, 8th, mo. 17th 1843. tf.

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The National Anti-Slavery Standard, will be issued regularly from this office, on Thursday of every week.

TERMS—the same as in New-York; i. e. $2,00 a year if paid in advance; $2,50 if not paid within six month $10,00, in advance, will pay for six copies for one year sent to one address; and $30,00 will pay for twenty copies.

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